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Iran Says
It Seizes
Gulf PortHeavy Fighting
Reported by IraqBy David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Service

KUWAIT — Iran announced Monday that it had recaptured its port of Khorramshahr on the strategic Shatt-al-Arab waterway, killed the commander of the Iraqi garrison there and forced the surrender of 30,000 Iraqi troops holding the city.

There was no immediate independent confirmation of the Iranian claim available here. However, an Iraqi communiqué issued Monday night said its forces were engaged in large battles with Iranians inside the port city, inflicting heavy casualties on them and in some cases driving them back.

The wording of the statement seemed at least a partial confirmation of the Iranian claim, that it had retaken the city seized by Iraq at the outset of their war 20 months ago.

If true, it would mark Iran's most important victory in its struggle to remove Iraqi troops from its territory and its recapture of the last major Iraqi-held town. In effect the war may be coming to an end on its own after fruitless months of attempted mediation by various outside parties.

Consequences for Hussein

The reported Iranian victory would also mean that there has been a spectacular collapse of the Iraqi Army, an event that could hold extremely serious consequences for the future of President Saddam Hussein's war-exhausted regime.

[Tehran radio broadcast a statement Monday by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini to Gulf countries, warning them to stay out of the Gulf war, Reuters reported. He said that, with the capture of Khorramshahr, Iran's people and government could now speak from a position of strength.]

"You must realize that the superpowers will not support you as much as they helped the criminal Saddam. They will sacrifice you for their own interests," the statement said. "I have a piece of brotherly advice for you: Do not do anything which will oblige us, under the tenets of the Koran, to treat you according to divine law."

Possible Resistance

The battle for Khorramshahr began Saturday ago and was expected to be long because of the large number of Iraqi troops concentrated there. But Monday, the Iranians said they had successfully pushed all the way to the Shatt-al-Arab waterway to the west of the city, cutting off Iraqi supply lines and escape routes into Iraq. This apparently unversed the Iraqi Army and led to its rapid collapse Monday.

It was not clear from the Iranian communiqué whether all Iraqi troops had surrendered or whether some fighting was still going on. In announcing the victory, it said Iranian troops were in full control of all key buildings, including the railroad station, customs house and main mosque.

This seemed to indicate that there might still be some pockets of Iraqi resistance inside the city, which is about 8 miles (12.8 kilometers) from Iraq's main port of Basra.

Reports Sunday estimated there were 40,000 Iraqi troops committed to the defense of Khorramshahr, many of whom had retreated from positions further to the north and east in the last two months of hard, intermittent fighting with Iranian forces.

Appeal to Arabs

The reported collapse of the Iraqi defense of Khorramshahr came as Mr. Saddam appealed to other Arab states to send troops to help him hold off the Iranians and to accept Egypt back into the Arab fold, presumably to smooth the way for increased Egyptian military assistance to his government.

In an interview published here Monday with two Kuwaiti newspapers, the Arab Times and Al Ciyyas, Mr. Saddam said he would "open all doors" if the Egyptian Army came to Baghdad and also called upon the Arab nations to "welcome Egypt back to their fold."

But Mr. Saddam did not say Iraq itself was ready to restore diplomatic relations with Cairo, broken in 1979, in retaliation for Egypt's signing of the peace treaty with Israel.

For Mr. Saddam, the setback at Khorramshahr spells the virtual end of his bid beginning in September, 1980, to force Iran to recognize Iraqi sovereignty over the entire Shatt-al-Arab waterway by seizing vast portions of Iran's Kuzestan province and then pressing for negotiations.

With the fall of the city, Iraqi forces now hold only small stretches of Iranian territory further to the north in the province and their retreat from there seems only a matter of time.



Security men rush a victim of the car bombing at the French Embassy in Beirut to an ambulance.

French Mission in Beirut Bombed;
11 Persons Are Killed, 25 InjuredBy Edward Cody
Washington Post Service

BEIRUT — A powerful bomb in a car driven by a French Embassy employee exploded inside the embassy compound here Monday, killing at least 11 persons in the bloodiest attack in a series of terrorist strikes against French interests in Lebanon.

The 8 a.m. blast, which Lebanese security officials said was remote-controlled, sent white flame out of the compound gates at people waiting on the sidewalk and a street full of cars and pedestrians on their way to work, witnesses said. Police said more than 25 persons were injured.

The explosion killed a French guard and the employee whose car was rigged with the bomb, an embassy spokesman said, as well as a Lebanese plumber and two Lebanese messengers.

Lebanese security officials said the other victims were all Lebanese, some of them waiting at the embassy entrance to apply for visas and others passing by on their way to work. The French ambassador, Paul-Marc Henri, was out of town, French officials said.

The explosion killed the car 30 yards (about 30 meters) toward the embassy, reducing the vehicle to a compact tangle that came to rest in a flower garden under the flagpole where France's tricolor waved. The embassy building was

only slightly damaged, but offices and shops on the other side of the street were gutted by the force of the blast.

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Lull Permits U.K. to Deploy Sophisticated Missiles Ashore

By Jay Ross
Washington Post Service

LONDON — Argentina's heavy air raids Sunday came after a lull that provided vital time for Britain to reinforce and consolidate its positions on East Falkland Island and to deploy land-based, anti-aircraft missiles that were used Sunday for the first time in combat.

Since their initial landing Friday, the British ground forces have been strengthened by replacement of Rapier anti-aircraft missiles, a weapon that operates automatically, has its own guidance system and a range of up to 10 miles (16 kilometers).

A British reporter at the bridgehead said he saw a Skyhawk shot down by a Rapier battery. He also said a turboprop Pucara counter-spy plane, flying from an air-strip on the island, was shot down

by a four-man ground patrol using small arms.

Despite Sunday's attack on the task force ships, analysts here expect the war gradually to shift from an air-sea confrontation to an air-ground one. The British Defense Ministry announced that at least six of Argentina's fighter-bombers were downed Sunday. In all, Britain has reported that more than 40 Argentine planes have been destroyed.

It is believed that Argentine pilots are likely to have increasing difficulty now that Britain has consolidated and reinforced its bridgehead.

Thus far Argentine tactics have centered on winning a war of attrition in the air and on imposing heavy casualties to wear down Britain's will to fight.

Argentina's numerical superiority in aircraft, originally calculated

at about 8 to 1, has been considered vital for it to hold the islands. But heavy Argentine losses and the arrival of at least 20 more Harrier jets probably have brought Argentina's advantage down to about 2 to 1.

In addition, British military analysts maintain that the Harriers have superior maneuverability to the Argentine fighter-bombers, which are mainly models that are 15 to 20 years old.

If British reports are accurate, Argentina has lost at least 20 Mirages and Skyhawks in the last three days. It is not known whether others failed to make it back to the mainland because of damage or lack of fuel. Britain has acknowledged the loss of four Harriers.

On the assumption that only 75 percent of the planes available are operational at any time, former British Air Marshal Stewart Menaul estimated that Argentina may only be capable of putting about 60 planes in the air now as opposed to 30 for Britain.

Once airborne, they must face possible opposition on land from the Rapiers and the shoulder-held Blowpipe missiles as well as conventional small-arms fire. It is also believed that the air force's Harriers can now operate from air-strips of steel tracking put down by engineers.

The Argentine pilots still face attacks from Harriers based on the two aircraft carriers and a variety of sea-based missiles on escort ships.

Some analysts think Argentina may soon have trouble fielding enough trained pilots and may have difficulty in maintaining the jets and turning them around quickly for new sorties.

One analyst said the loss of pilots is far more serious than the loss of aircraft. The pilot casualty rate may cause Argentina to reconsider its air strategy, he added.

"The Argentines have had a hell of a reduction in their capability. With the new land defenses the pilots face prodigious odds. It will be very much more difficult for the Argentine Air Force," an analyst said. He added that morale of the pilots might be suffering.

"We would not dream of trying to engineer a campaign around it,"

Mr. Menaul said. "The pilot's inner war Cabinet," he said. "This is not being considered, nor will it be. We have two more years, almost, of this Patriate. We have many things left to be done, and I believe we will carry on and see our term of office.

In the seven weeks since then, the Social Democrats have taken a drumming in the local elections, with the Liberals faring only a little better, and Mr. Jenkins has all but disappeared from the political scene. Two more parliamentary by-elections are imminent, and the Conservatives are expected to win both easily.

Last week, Shirley Williams, another of the more popular figures in the new party, announced she would not challenge Mr. Jenkins for its leadership in a ballot of all members later this year. But David Owen, the Social Democratic spokesman in Parliament, let it be known that he would.

Before the Falklands dispute erupted, Mr. Owen, a former Labor foreign secretary, would have had little chance in such a contest. He was widely viewed, even within his own party, as too brash and too ambitious. But with his speeches in the Commons and his dozens of television appearances over the last seven weeks, he has increased his following substantially.

According to the opinion polls, the prime minister and her party are more popular now than at any other time since she took office three years ago. A Gallup Poll completed just before the British landing in the Falklands, showed the Conservatives with 41.5 percent of the vote — 10 percentage points more than a month ago — and showed a similar increase in Mrs. Thatcher's personal rating as prime minister.

A strong Tory showing in local elections earlier this month, at a time when the party had feared a debacle, bore out the polls, and politicians believe the landings at San Carlos Bay have increased Mrs. Thatcher's standing.

A poll completed after the landings showed no fewer than 76 percent of Britons who were questioned backed the prime minister's decision to land troops on the islands. She is also thought to have benefited from the announcement last week that the inflation rate had returned to single figures for the first time during the government's term.

Mrs. Thatcher has not, however, overcome all her problems. An academic study suggested Sunday that unemployment would remain above three million throughout this decade, a judgment many private economists endorse, and joblessness could prove a major electoral liability. So could an unanticipated military setback in the Falklands.

But the biggest fear among the prime minister's advisers is a backlash among hard-line Tories when she begins the task of deciding the long-term future of the islands.

Foreign Secretary Francis Pym and others believe negotiations must eventually be resumed, but many right-wingers, natural supporters of Mrs. Thatcher, disagree violently.

For Michael Foot, the Labor leader, war in the Falklands has exacerbated the already enormous task of restoring unity to a party that is deeply split on almost every important issue. Most of his party has backed him in his limited endorsement of the landing, however unenthusiastically, but the left wing has refused to do so.

Tony Benn, Mr. Foot's nemesis on a score of subjects, demanded and won Thursday night a vote on government policy. Mr. Foot and most of the other Labor MPs abstained, but Mr. Benn and about 30 party colleagues voted against Mrs. Thatcher.

Probably the biggest political casualty of the conflict in the South Atlantic is the Liberal-Social



An Argentine prisoner of war being marched by a British paratrooper on the Falkland Islands in this photograph released by the British Ministry of Defense. He is wearing a British Royal Marines sweater that he had on when he was captured.

Tory Chairman Denies Early Election Planned

By R.W. Apple Jr.
New York Times Service

LONDON — Cecil Parkinson, chairman of the Conservative Party, has said there was no chance that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher would call a snap election this fall in the hope of profiting from a successful military campaign in the Falkland Islands.

"We would not dream of trying to engineer a campaign around it," Mr. Parkinson, a member of Mrs. Thatcher's inner war Cabinet, said Sunday. "This is not being considered, nor will it be. We have two more years, almost, of this Patriate. We have many things left to be done, and I believe we will carry on and see our term of office.

In the seven weeks since then, the Social Democrats have taken a drumming in the local elections, with the Liberals faring only a little better, and Mr. Jenkins has all but disappeared from the political scene. Two more parliamentary by-elections are imminent, and the Conservatives are expected to win both easily.

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Argentina Portraying Crisis As Fight With Superpowers

By Jackson Dichl
Washington Post Service

BUENOS AIRES — Argentina's military government is now trying to change what was originally portrayed here as an assertion of territorial claims into a Latin American struggle against the Western power structure.

At the same time, the administration of President Leopoldo Galtieri has revised its rightist foreign

policies, according to widespread reports here, and did not believe that their action would result in a war or even a significant international confrontation.

As a result, Argentina explained the invasion strictly in parochial political terms. In a national television address on April 2, Gen. Galtieri made no mention of North-South relations or Old-World colonialism.

He said simply that the decision to invade was made because of the "lack of recognition of Argentine rights" in the territory, which it had claimed since 1833.

Asserting that the military forces had acted to "save national honor," Gen. Galtieri said that "the decision resulted from a necessity to put an end to the interminable succession of evasions and delays" by Britain in turning over "territory that by legitimate right is part of the national fatherland."

This explanation was consistent with decades of Argentine foreign policy, which had pictured Argentine occupation of the Falklands not only as a right but as the key to its destiny to control a large part of America. It is only since the conflict has grown deeper that Argentina has offered deeper explanations of why it is willing to fight.

The key to Argentina's present position is that the Falklands is a "vestige of colonialism," maintained by an extraterritorial power. Argentina has frequently made this argument in international forums in past years to support its claim to the Falklands.

But the colonial argument, while attractive to Latin American countries, can become difficult at times in Argentina's case, as Mr. Galtieri demonstrated in his press conference last week.

"We are the protagonists of a tragic episode that we have neither provoked nor provoked," Mr. Anaya said. "However, it has allowed us to understand both Argentines and all of humanity, the reality of the world we live in, which no longer admits the superpower."

KGB Chief Andropov Gets a Top Party Post

By John Morrison
Reuter

MOSCOW — Yuri V. Andropov, the Soviet security chief, was named Monday a secretary of the Communist Party's Central Committee, Tass reported.

Andropov, 67, a full member of the Politburo, had been made a candidate member of the party's Politburo.

Quoting a report issued by the Central Committee, Tass also announced that Vladimir Dolgikh, a secretary responsible for heavy industry, had been made a candidate member of the party's Politburo.

The moderate newspaper Clarin, in a long analysis Saturday, argued that the conflict had destroyed the myth that "the destiny of Argentina consists in taking a complementary role to other powers in the West."

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The Falklands crisis has transformed the prospects of Britain's political parties — not only those of the Tories, but also those of the opposition Labor Party and of the Liberals and the Social Democrats, who have joined together in an electoral alliance.

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5 Ex-Treasury Chiefs Urge U.S. Budget, Deficit Be Cut

By James L. Rowe Jr.
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Five former Treasury secretaries have urged the president and Congress to slash defense and nondesign spending immediately to prevent high budget deficits from damaging the economy.

A combination of spending cuts, tax increases and a one-year freeze on Social Security, Medicare and federal retirement benefits could reduce the deficit to less than \$100 billion for the 1983 fiscal year and the 1985 deficit to less than \$75 billion, the bipartisan group said in a prepared statement.

Deficits Will Grow

Otherwise, the former officials said, deficits will continue to grow, and borrowing to finance them "would devour virtually every penny of household savings and would divert capital from productive investment at a record rate."

President Reagan spent Sunday morning telephoning House members to seek support for a budget package he prefers that is similar to the one passed by the Senate.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Crown Books store, bought a copy of The Washington Star and read President Reagan's schedule for the day.

Back in his room, Mr. Hinckley took a shower, loaded a 22-caliber pistol with exploding bullets and wrote a letter to actress Jodie Foster saying, "I just cannot wait any longer to impress you."

He put a John Lennon button in his pocket and took a cab to the Washington Hilton Hotel, where he shot President Reagan; James S. Brady, the presidential press secretary, Timothy J. McCarthy, a Secret Service agent, and Thomas K. Delahanty, a District of Columbia police officer.

Crazy or Just Sick?

Depending on whom you believe, these were the acts of either a disturbed but coldly calculating assassin, or an insane man finally driven out of control by bizarre and violent delusions. Was he crazy, or just sick?

Experts testifying on Mr. Hinckley's behalf have given the federal trial jury a chilling picture of a man consumed by severe mental illness, possessed by an "inner rage" and tormented by thoughts of murder and suicide as he pursued an eternal union with Miss Foster.

As the trial moves through its

fourth week, however, the jury will begin to hear testimony from prosecution experts who have probed just as deeply into Mr. Hinckley's state of mind and have arrived at sharply different conclusions. They will challenge the degree of Mr. Hinckley's mental illness. They will contend he could have abided by the law, but chose not to.

In the end, the jury of 12 ordinary people will be left with a set of contradictory opinions about a man who has been subjected to hundreds of hours of scrutiny by skilled specialists on the function — and secrets — of the human mind.

The jurors, through the testimony of three defense experts, already have heard the key questions that the law says could excuse Mr. Hinckley from criminal responsibility on the grounds of legal insanity. Did he suffer from a mental disease or defect last year when he wounded Mr. Reagan and three others? As a result of that mental disease or defect, was he unable to abide by the law, or unable to appreciate that his acts were wrong, or both?

So far in the trial, the defense experts have not varied, but equally severe, labels on the mental illness they testified they found in Mr. Hinckley. All the labels relate to deep depression and long-standing schizophrenia, an extreme break with reality in which the emotions dry up and the mind is dominated by delusions.

Yet, they say, the very nature of Mr. Hinckley's disease is such that he still could make his way through life. He could get good marks on college papers, he could rent apartments and make police telephone calls, he could get mon-



William E. Simon
W. Michael Blumenthal

cal reform on the major spending programs which confer benefits on middle- and upper-income groups," the six said. They did not specify any such programs in their statement, however.

In what they called a "program for immediate action," the former officials said Congress and the president should slow the growth in nondesign spending to reduce the deficit by \$60 billion to fiscal 1985, the federal spending year that begins Oct. 1, 1984.

"The best place to begin," they said, "is with a one-year freeze in benefits flowing from the large, broad-based entitlement programs — Social Security, Medicare, veterans' benefits, civil-service and military retirement, and other on-the-job subsidies and payments."

Fiscal 1985 Budget

After the freeze, they said, some sort of cap should be placed on how much benefits could rise in future years.

They also called for defense spending that would total \$25 billion less than Mr. Reagan wants by 1985 and said that taxes should

be increased by \$60 billion by 1985. They suggested new taxes on oil and natural-gas consumption and higher taxes on cigarettes and tobacco, as well as elimination of some corporate tax benefits.

Unless the deficits are reduced, they said, recovery from the recession will be "feeble and temporary," interest rates will remain "abnormally high," high unemployment will be chronic, and investment by businesses will remain low, resulting in little productivity growth that will depress living standards and decrease the nation's ability to compete in foreign markets.

U.S. Reopens Probe of Cover-Up Of Suspected Nazi War Criminals

By Ralph Blumenthal
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The government, confronted with evidence that important files were tampered with, has reopened investigations into a possible cover-up involving suspected Nazi war criminals living in the United States.

The investigations are being conducted by the Justice Department and the General Accounting Office. They concern allegations of a conspiracy to protect former Nazis and collaborators who may have been smuggled into the United States by U.S. intelligence agencies for propaganda operations against the Russians during the 1950s.

Unless the deficits are reduced, they said, recovery from the recession will be "feeble and temporary," interest rates will remain "abnormally high," high unemployment will be chronic, and investment by businesses will remain low, resulting in little productivity growth that will depress living standards and decrease the nation's ability to compete in foreign markets.

Charges that the U.S. authorities mishandled investigations of war criminals date back at least 10 years, but the General Accounting Office concluded in 1978 that it could find no evidence of a conspiracy to impede the inquiries.

Nearly 200 cases remain under investigation by a branch of the Justice Department, the Office of Special Investigations.

Congressional investigators are also reviewing new information provided by a former prosecutor in that office, including military documents containing reports of links between U.S. intelligence agencies and Nazis and their East European collaborators.

Episodes described in the documents and other information collected by the former prosecutor, John Loftus, include these cases:

• An Army officer working in intelligence after World War II acknowledged having allowed some Nazi collaborators to falsify their applications for U.S. visas in exchange for providing intelligence information.

If they find him guilty, he most likely would be sentenced to prison.

At the close of the trial, it is expected that Judge Barrington D. Parker will tell the jurors that Mr. Hinckley will be confined to a

mental hospital automatically if they find him out guilty by reason of insanity. They also will be told, however, that if that happens there will be a hearing within 50 days to determine if Mr. Hinckley is entitled to release because he is no longer a danger to himself or others because of mental illness.

If they find him guilty, he most likely would be sentenced to prison.

That, when the experts are through, will be the question for the jury: Should Mr. Hinckley be in the hospital or in jail for what he did?

• Others arrived on cargo

planes, after being listed on the cargo documents as freight.

• One collaborator accused of being a Nazi war criminal and barred from emigrating to the United States on five separate occasions by U.S. counterintelligence agents. Yet with the help of other agents, he finally gained entry to the country.

On May 16, Mr. Loftus said on the CBS News program "60 Minutes" that hundreds of Nazi collaborators were brought into the country illegally after World War II to form an anti-Soviet spy army.

Masterminding the efforts, he said, was a highly secret covert-operation agency close to the State Department called the Office of Policy Coordination.

Mr. Loftus, who has written a book about his findings, is now himself the subject of Justice Department inquiries into his disclosure of possibly confidential material.

Mr. Loftus, who is now in private law practice in Boston, denied releasing any material not properly cleared by intelligence authorities.

• He just provided Congress records they were supposed to get four years ago," said.

In the reopened government investigations, the Justice Department announced last week that its criminal division was looking into the removal, apparently by the Defense Department, of intelligence information from at least two files in military archives.

The files were checked by the General Accounting Office, an investigative arm of Congress, as part of its conspiracy inquiry from

South Africa Crew Rescued

The Associated Press

WALVIS BAY, South-West Africa — The Soviet fish-processing ship Sergey Kadashnikov rescued the crew of the fishing vessel Steyn after the South African craft sank late Friday night, the South African Press Association reported.

early 1977 to May, 1978. They dealt with two Belarusian immigrants who were under Justice Department investigation for atrocities in the Nazi-occupied region of western Russia. The two, Emmanuel Jasius and Franz Kuchel, have since died.

Do Not Disclose

Mr. Loftus said he discovered the tampering a year later. The General Accounting Office later said it had never seen the material. Mr. Loftus also said he found a note in one of the files: "Do not disclose to GAO until notified to do so." The note was signed only "General Counsel," and the Justice Department investigation is aimed at learning where the directive originated.

Both the Justice and State departments denied last week that they had tried to impede any investigation.

"It looks like we were misled," said John Tipton, the General Accounting Office's senior evaluator, who also headed the investigation in 1978. The withholding of the material from him last year, he said, "would lead to the fact that there might be a conspiracy, yes."

Meanwhile, Alan Ryan Jr., director of the Office of Special Investigations, said his staff is investigating 197 people suspected of being war criminals to determine whether they lied about their past to gain entry to the United States or to win citizenship. A total of 548 cases had been investigated by the end of April, and charges have been brought against 26 people. Seven of the 26 are facing deportation and four have died. No one has yet been deported.

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Mr. Draper replied that it was clear from his talks in the Arab countries that Israel's position was "well understood," the Israeli representative said.

Mr. Draper said he would sharply react to any PLO attacks on Israelis.

Mr. Draper said he would like to see a continuation of the peace process with the Palestinians in Lebanon, but that "it depends on the behavior" of the PLO.

The PLO contends that the agreement gives it a free hand to operate against Israel except from across the Lebanon frontier.

The officials said Mr. Shamir urged the United States to try to bring Jordan, Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries into the Egyptian-Israeli peace process as the best method of building Mideast stability.

Mr. Begic said Sunday in a speech to European fund-raisers that Jordan would ultimately use the sophisticated U.S. weapons against Israel.

Israeli officials quoted Mr. Shamir as saying that Israel would like to see a continuation of the peace process with the Palestinians in Lebanon, but that "it depends on the behavior" of the PLO.

"If the terrorists continue to attack us and attempt further acts of terrorism on Israel from Lebanon or from any place, or in any place, we will not sit idle and we will be compelled to react," the officials quoted Mr. Shamir as saying.

Spanish Officer Ejected in Trial

MADRID — The Civil Guard officer who stormed the Spanish parliament 15 months ago in an unsuccessful coup was expelled from the last day of his trial Monday.

Lt. Col. Antonio Tejero Molina, one of a group of 32 officers and their civilian on trial for their parts in the abortive coup last year, said in his final statement that he despised "a large part of the military leadership for their cowardice" and was ordered removed by the presiding judge.

The prosecutor has asked for maximum 30-year sentences for Lt. Col. Tejero, for Lt. Gen. Jaime Milans del Bosch, who ordered tanks onto the streets of Valencia on the night of the coup attempt, and for Maj. Gen. Alfonso Armada Comyn, who was then deputy army chief of staff, and for lesser sentences for the others. The judges have until June 3 to hand down sentences.

2 Nations Cut Zaire Ties

ABU DHABI (Reuters) — The United Arab Emirates and Kuwait Monday severed diplomatic ties with Zaire because it has resumed relations with Israel, according to official statements.

Zaire also broke off relations with Costa Rica for shifting its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, the Kuwait Foreign Ministry statement said.

Year of Socialism Shows Up Paradoxes of French Politics

By Richard Eder
New York Times Service

PARIS — In marking the first anniversary of President François Mitterrand's accession to power, France had a choice between two dates — May 10, when he was elected, and May 21, when he took office.

It was a choice, in a way, between the idea and the reality. Without much hesitation, both Mr. Mitterrand's supporters and his opponents — those who saw the occasion as a celebration and those who saw it as a wake — chose May 10 and the idea.

One year into what the headlines choose to call Socialist France (without the headlines it would be hard to recognize it as such) the French find it easier to summon up emotion about the idea than the reality. What has actually happened has fallen short of two opposite sets of expectations.

The Socialists, having spotted the new day, are still waiting for the sun actually to come up. In France, it may be odd, but it has its explanations. One may have to do with historical memory.

Achievements and Failures

Like other countries in Europe, France has seen too much of disaster to expect the good life to be, necessarily, its due. In the short run, at any rate, hardship or its prospect is not necessarily seen as the hallmark of a government that has botched the God-given right of the nation to be successful and happy.

At the time of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's defeat last year and now again, during the anniversary negotiations, a good deal of attention has been focused not so much on achievements and failures, as on the vague notion of congruence between a president and his people.

As far as the achievements and failures go, the material condition of France has not changed greatly. If unemployment is now 2 million instead of 1.6 million, the rate of increase has slowed. Inflation, at 14 percent, is roughly the same. The franc is weaker; on the other hand, there has been a very slight picking-up of business activity.

As for congruence, there was a great deal of talk before last year's election about the irritating effect of Mr. Giscard d'Estaing's style — authoritarian, vaguely self-indulgent, very distant and at the same time, very conspicuous. Mr. Mitterrand's manner, though self-assured and often aloof, at least looks more modest.

More important, unlike his predecessor, he does engage with those he talks to. There is a voracious curiosity under the indifference and no quality is more appealing to the public or harder to fake. Of course, there is more to his approval rating than his personality.

The message of Mr. Giscard d'Estaing, after a quarter century

the other hand, the percentage of those expressing confidence in President Mitterrand rose from 56 percent to 64 percent.

The rosy perspective about the leadership extended to include Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy and his Cabinet. And it spilled over to the opposition leaders, who managed to increase their approval rating by four points as well.

Is it possible that the true representative of the French spirit is Dr. Pangloss, after all? And yet people do not think things are getting better and better but worse and worse. Why then is this not reflected by a rejection of its political leaders?

In the United States this would be, at the least, a paradox. In France, it may be odd, but it has its explanations. One may have to do with historical memory.

of the Gaullist legacy was: This has been good for you, will be good for you and in any case, is the way things are going to be. Mr.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Mitterrand, on the other hand, offered a whole rainbow of change. While his program remains something of a rainbow, the French are still giving him credit for trying and for meaning what he says.

It is hard to predict the lasting effect of what has been done.

One of the most interesting questions, perhaps, is what changes will take place in the left and right as a result of the former's holding power and the latter's lacking it. Although some Socialist voices are clamorous as ever, the party leadership has become cautious to the point of embarrassing itself. The evidence of the last year

does not indicate, as some have predicted, that continued economic difficulty will cause a radicalization of policies.

On the right, there are a number of tendencies. A few politicians seem bent on crying havoc. On the other hand, Jacques Chirac, who at the moment holds the most influence in the opposition, has made conciliatory gestures toward Mr. Mitterrand while strongly criticizing him.

It remains to be seen what the pressures of the coming years will do to the fund of tolerance, never particularly large in French politics, on both sides.



President François Mitterrand was welcomed by a delegation from Ivory Coast wearing a blouse with portraits of his wife, Danielle, and the country's president, Félix Houphouët-Boigny.

Swedish Peace Institute Has Image Problem

Questions Raised on Agency's Objectivity in Monitoring World Arms

By John Vinocur
New York Times Service

STOCKHOLM — The last 12 months have been difficult ones for the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, an organization whose stated goal has been to provide independent analysis of armaments and the global balance of power.

The idea that the organization is objective has been undercut by the arrest and conviction of a staff member for illegally gathering intelligence in Norway and Sweden, by accusations from a former researcher that her work on Soviet military bases was censored by the institute's Czechoslovak consultant and by expressions of concern here that the institute is interested mainly in North Atlantic Treaty Organization activities and little else.

The institute, founded in 1966, is financed by the Swedish government. Its six-member board of governors is made up of a Swedish chairman and members from West Germany, Norway, Finland, East Germany and Yugoslavia. The institute's director, Frank Blackaby, says its difficulties have created a serious image problem. They come at a time when the institute has begun to play a growing role in the debate over the nuclear balance — in West Germany especially.

The institute's director, Frank Blackaby, says its difficulties have created a serious image problem. They come at a time when the institute has begun to play a growing role in the debate over the nuclear balance — in West Germany especially.

Cruise missiles if the Soviet Union cuts its present total of SS-20s in half, Mr. Blackaby said in an interview.

This argument, as presented by Mr. Blackaby, disregards NATO's "zero solution" — no deployment of new Western missiles in exchange for a dismantling of all the SS-20s — and dismisses the Western contention that the modernized SS-20 increases the Russians' ability to exert political pressure on Western Europe.

"I suppose no one would have been giving the institute's makeup all that close a look if it hadn't been for the incidents," said Carl Bildt, member of the Swedish Parliament's Foreign Affairs Commission from the Moderate Party, a conservative group. "But they seem symptomatic of the institute's mood: what I say is its obsession with the details of Western weapons combined with its inability or unwillingness to see what's going on on the other side."

The situation led to a series of articles in Swedish newspapers involving Owen R. Wilkes, a New Zealander hired by the institute for a research project on military bases worldwide.

Last June Mr. Wilkes was given a six-month suspended sentence and a fine by a Norwegian court

for endangering Norwegian security. He had been arrested for gathering material on electronic surveillance installations there.

Two months later, as an employee of the Stockholm institute, Mr. Wilkes was arrested in Sweden on charges of illegally collecting information on Sweden's air defense network. He was subsequently given a six-month prison sentence by a Stockholm court and ordered expelled from Sweden. Both the Norwegian and Swedish convictions are under appeal.

Mr. Wilkes has given a number of interviews to the Swedish press. In one, the country's largest newspaper, Expressen, asked him if he was pro-Soviet. "No, I don't think so," he replied. "But I could think of myself as going along with the idea of being anti-American."

Contract Not Renewed

Mr. Blackaby has said that the charges against Mr. Wilkes had nothing to do with his research at the institute. His contract was not renewed when it ran out in January.

Another unrenewed contract, involving Maria Lunderius, Mr. Wilkes' research assistant, has made for more problems. She said her work on Warsaw Pact bases had been halted essentially as a result of the efforts of a full-time consultant to the institute, Theodore Nemeć, whom Mr. Blackaby described as a member of the Czechoslovak National Academy.

Other newspaper accounts, including one appearing in the Neue Zürcher Zeitung, the leading Swiss daily, said Mr. Nemeć was in regular contact in Stockholm with an employee at the Soviet Embassy.

Mr. Blackaby's reply was: "I don't care who Mr. Nemeć has lunch with. The whole story is total rubbish. He's a singularly unfluent person around here."

He acknowledged, however, that there was no set date for completion of the report on both Soviet and Western bases.

Mr. Blackaby defines the institute's operating philosophy as a "plague on both your houses, East and West."

until 1939, a major center of life.

Archbishop Glemp, who had not been due to speak because Archbishop Henryk Galiowicz of Warsaw preached the sermon, rose from his throne at the side of the altar after the blessing that ended the Mass and strode to the raised pulpit without notes, clearly not to let Mr. Pietkiewicz's words go unanswered.

"I do not know if at any time in our history we have been so strongly united and so strong in spirit as we are now, although we are living through a period of pain, conflict, failure and crisis," said the primate, who will be elevated as a cardinal at the next Vatican consistory and already wears a cardinal's red.

Archbishop Glemp could offer no other prescription but prayer. He cautioned against hunger strikes and young people who make their mothers suffer because they go out into the street when it is not certain they will return safely. The primate was clearly alluding to a hunger strike among members of Solidarity and recent demonstrations by youths.

"Love will overcome everything," he said.

The primate came to this town 125 miles northeast of Warsaw for the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the Vilna Seminary, which was moved here in 1939, after the Germans occupying Poland gave the disputed city to Lithuania. A year later, Lithuania was annexed by the Soviet Union, but feeling is strong in Poland that the city, called Wilno here, Vilna in Russian and Vilnius in Lithuanian, remains Polish.

Outspoken Sermon

In an unusually outspoken sermon on a subject considered of utmost delicacy in Poland, Archbishop Galiowicz emphasized the Western rather than Russian character of Vilnius.

He called the city and its ancient seminary a center of Western European knowledge and "a bastion of Latin culture that until this day has been a bulwark against the rights of man."

Mr. Pietkiewicz, an agricultural machinist, as Archbishop Józef Glemp of Warsaw listened earnestly and the large congregation strained to hear.

"This voice has unequivocally expressed itself on the side of the nation and demanded the rights that are due to this nation and speaks against all the evil acts and against all those who trample the rights of man," Mr. Pietkiewicz continued, his voice gaining strength.

Solidarity Button

He wore a Solidarity button on the lapel of his dark suit, as did two younger men who accompanied him. He gave thanks to the primate, who had traveled here to celebrate Mass Saturday morning.

He thanked the church for its help to those "most painfully afflicted, those in prison, in internment and expelled from their places of work."

Local sources reported that arrests had resumed here this month, after demonstrations May 1, 3 and 13, similar to those in other towns in Poland. About 100 have been arrested in consequence, many having been dismissed from their jobs and more detained for interrogation.

Without mentioning its annexation by the Soviet Union and placing the city entirely in the control of Polish history, the primate said the seminary had always taught its students to be close to their people and they had done so, going together with their people into the taiga of Siberia and "the concentration camps of Nazi Germany and the Stalinist camps."

Much of Bialystok was in and around church Saturday, but the primate's coming also showed how much of normal life has returned after nearly six months of martial law. Ice cream lines were long, and the main cafe, situated in what was once the ghetto, offered not much more free space than did the church.

In First Month, Salvador Assembly Acts Against Land Reform Efforts

By Raymond Bonner
New York Times Service

SAN SALVADOR — In less than one month as a legislative body, El Salvador's rightist-controlled Constituent Assembly has effectively repealed or blocked the implementation of the bulk of the country's land redistribution effort.

In its first session, the deputies enacted legislation that annulled the previous government's plan to make peasant cooperatives out of about 1,700 of the country's large farms. Last Thursday, the assembly suspended the land-to-the-tiller law for one crop year.

In his Sunday homily, the acting archbishop of San Salvador, Arturo Rivera Damas, said that the legislators had wanted to repeal the land-to-the-tiller law. He called the suspension a "political maneuver to leave open the possibility of North American aid which is conditioned on the reforms not being halted."

Hailed as "Unprecedented"

Recently hailed as "unprecedented" by President Reagan and the "most revolutionary and reform in Latin American history" by U.S. Ambassador Deane R. Hinton, El Salvador's land redistribution program was begun two years ago in a blunt effort to woo peasants from the leftist-led revolution.

Before the enactment of the agrarian program in early 1980, fewer than 2 percent of the population controlled more than half the nation's fertile farm land.

Under Phase I of the program all farms larger than 1.235 acres (500 hectares) were expropriated, with compensation, and converted to peasant cooperatives. Phase II, announced but never implemented, provided for similar expropriation and conversion of farms larger than 247 acres.

And Phase III, which is known as the land-to-the-tiller law, decreed that peasants could buy up to 17 acres of the land they had been working as tenant farmers or sharecroppers.

Phases II and III have been affected by the assembly's actions.

About 85 percent of the peasant families who were to benefit from the agrarian program as originally announced live or work on the Phase II and III properties.

Some foreign journalists and

analyst and a lawyer, the assembly acted against Phase II when it repealed a law enacted by the previous government that permitted expropriations.

The demise of Phase II was expected because it did not have the support of the Reagan administration. Most of the Phase II properties are owned by people that constitute a considerable element of the country's political power structure," according to a study for

the U.S. Agency for International Development.

But the action against the peasants who would benefit from the land-to-the-tiller program was more of a shock.

Although technically the land-to-the-tiller law has only been suspended for one crop year, which for sugar cane will be four calendar years, there is considerable doubt that it will ever be reactivated.

The People's Daily, the party newspaper, reported the case after Mr. Li's appeal was rejected in late March. The newspaper also warned that spies were at work in Peking's foreign community. It said that those Chinese who did not learn from Mr. Li's experience "themselves might possibly embark upon the criminal path."

Mr. Li's crimes were said to include disclosing the time, place and agenda of the last full party session at which Hu Guofeng was removed as chairman and replaced by Hu Yaobang.

Mr. Li, 64, was also charged with revealing the contents of documents submitted at the session. These would have included a critical assessment of Mao that was afterward promulgated as party doctrine.

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Some foreign journalists and

diplomats here saw the cautionary

punishment of Mr. Li as a new round in the government's efforts to stop Chinese from talking to them. The tactic seemed to work as more than a few Chinese officials began avoiding phone calls and dodging lunch invitations or requests for chats.

Still, the publicity has been enough, according to Peking Review, a weekly magazine that the government circulates abroad in five languages, devoted a full page in its latest issue to explaining why the editor was imprisoned. In the process, it offered what may be the most candid definition yet given outsiders of what constitutes a state secret in China.

The article, after reminding readers that the Communist Party was China's ruling political party, said: "Before they are made public, all of the party's private documents are state secrets."

Mr. Li was convicted under Article 186 of China's 1980 criminal code. It says that "any state functionary who betrays an important secret of the state in violation of state security regulations, to a serious degree, shall be sentenced to imprisonment for not more than

seven years or to detention, or to punishment of political rights."

While Peking Review insisted that Mr. Li was not punished for talking to foreigners, the article followed a recent circular that has been read to Chinese at their compulsory political study sessions cautioning them against traitors.

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Publications such as People's Liberation Army Daily and a few economic journals are prohibited reading for foreigners. State secrets seem to include just about anything that the government and party choose not to announce.

Jakarta Officials Deny Rejecting U.S. Envoy

United Press International

JAKARTA — The Indonesian Foreign ministry denied Monday that it had rejected the appointment of Morton I. Abramowitz as U.S. ambassador to Jakarta.

"The American government has submitted a name for approval," a Foreign Ministry spokesman said. "We were considering the application. That is normal procedure. It seems that now the American government will submit another name."

Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. said in Washington Thursday, "I do regret to state that the government of Indonesia did not act on our request for agreement" to the appointment of Mr. Abramowitz.

Mr. Abramowitz, 49, a senior diplomat whose last post was ambassador to Bangkok, was nominated to replace Ambassador Edward E. Masters, who left six months ago. Mr. Abramowitz is regarded by many officials in Southeast Asia as highly knowledgeable on regional matters.</

ARTS/LEISURE

Mining a Trove of Unknown Chaplin Film

By Nancy Mills

International Herald Tribune

London — It is a rare piece of silent film. The actor playing the professor looks vaguely familiar, but the moustache is full and drooping. He is wearing a top hat and long coat instead of a bowler and a tiny jacket.

But the antics are pure Charlie Chaplin. His impudent professor and his traveling flea circus are spending the night in a flophouse. The fleas are restless. They will not stay in their box. Soon the man in the next bed starts scratching.

But the antics are pure Charlie Chaplin. His impudent professor and his traveling flea circus are spending the night in a flophouse. The fleas are restless. They will not stay in their box. Soon the man in the next bed starts scratching.

But the professor notices. He leaps out of bed, counts the varmints, looks through his neighbor's head, finds one and puts it back in the box. Chaplin returns to bed, accidentally kicking over the box. Immediately everyone in the room starts scratching.

Again the professor jumps up. This time he takes out his whip and orders the fleas to come back. All but one obey. The disobedient flea receives a lecture, then meekly returns home.

There is peace now — until a dog wanders in. It sticks its nose into the box and immediately runs off, scratching madly. In due course, the professor notices his flea box is empty and chases after the dog. *Curious?*

Film Never Released

"The Professor" is a two-reel film that has languished in Charlie Chaplin's British film vault for more than 50 years. It was never released, and its existence was unknown until film historian Kevin Brownlow and producer David Gill of Thames Television uncovered a mother lode of Chaplin material several years ago. The men are now putting together a documentary, "The Unknown Chaplin," to be aired in Britain and the United States next year.

Film historians are like detectives. They search out long-forgotten bits of celluloid and are delighted when they can find even a few feet. The Chaplin vault is a bonanza.



Chaplin in 1918.

Missing 8,000 Feet

"I saw two reels of 'Napoleon' back in 1954," Brownlow said. "At that time there was a 15,000-foot version. Crucial scenes and the titles were missing, but it was being billed as the definitive 'Napoleon'." Brownlow spent years tracking down and reconstituting most of the missing 8,000 feet.

Locating Charlie Chaplin film was a different kind of challenge. Six years ago, Brownlow joined Gill of Thames Television to make a 13-part documentary entitled "Hollywood." One of the episodes was to be devoted to four great silent comedians: Charlie Chaplin, Harry Langdon, Harold Lloyd and Buster Keaton.

One of the problems we were faced with," Gill recalled recently, "was getting Chaplin material. All of his later films were tied under copyright license, which prevented us from having access to them. We'd heard so many times how paranoid Chaplin was about people stealing his ideas and gags. We'd been told he burned everything after production. In desperation we finally wrote to

material in the vault for five years. It will form the basis of their documentary "The Unknown Chaplin."

The men have not yet made public a vault inventory, but they say that there is "lots of private footage plus sequences and outtakes of Chaplin's feature films up until about 1930. Chaplin did retain the film he owned — from the days when he had his own studio — and Lady Chaplin has had it preserved on safety film stock.

"Chaplin was a shrewd businessman, but in making his films he lavished his time and film stock. Through the material we found in the vault we'll be able to show him working his ideas out in front of a camera. We found variations of familiar scenes plus entire new scenes and different characters.

"There's virtually no one around now to talk about those days, but luckily Chaplin worked it all out and rehearsed on camera. We discovered stuff he threw away that others would have died to do. We have an eight-minute sequence from 'City Lights' that is exquisite. Chaplin took it out because it was too long and it unbalanced the movie. We've also found pieces of film that totally bewilder us — like the two-reel 'Professor.' When was it shot? And why? Was this the original idea for 'The Circus'?"

Brownlow and Gill showed "The Professor" at the Telluride (Colo.) Film Festival last September, hoping to spark someone's memory. They would like to find people who could shed light on that film and on other finds in the vault.

"We want to talk to anyone who worked at Mutual Studios or Chaplin's own studio in any kind of job before 1930," Gill said. "A big problem is that most of the technicians were older than Chaplin, so we're looking for the junior technicians. We want to hear about the ordinary incidents, the routine of the day, what their job was, filming they saw, anything that might be of use."

The Horowitz Piano Experience

By Henry Pleasants

International Herald Tribune

LONDON — Vladimir Horowitz's first European appearance in slightly more than 30 years took one back more than a mere three decades.

His appearance last Saturday afternoon at the Royal Festival Hall, in a benefit for the Royal Opera House, displayed the piano playing of a bygone age, the age of Piasecki, Rachmaninoff, Hofmann, Moiseiwitsch and Cortot, an age when performer and composer were on more or less equal and familiar terms, when the composer welcomed the performer as a creative collaborator, and when a pianist superstar traveled, as Horowitz does, with his piano, his tuner, his valet and his cook.

Compared with the playing of even Arthur Rubinstein, who at 95 is Horowitz's senior by 18 years, Horowitz's playing strikes one as conspicuously old-fashioned, and that is precisely what makes it so memorable, an appreciation not shared, to be sure, by many younger critics who, while admiring the pianism, look askance at what they regard as the eccentricity.

The most distinctive aspect of

Superb Rendering Of 'Lady Macbeth' At Spoleto U.S.A.

By Joseph McLellan

Washington Post Service

CHARLESTON, S.C. — "This is so boring I could kill myself," sings the heroine in the first aria of Shostakovich's "Lady Macbeth of the Mzensk District." She scores 50 percent for accuracy, which is a bit above the norm for factual content in soprano arias. Before that opera is over, she kills not only herself but her husband, her father-in-law and a rival for the affections of her paramour.

But you should ignore the part about boredom, at least in relation to the opera's impact. Life may have been boring for Katerina Ismailova (at least until she began her life of crime), but the opera made from her story is anything but boring. In a superb new production and translation, unveiled on Saturday night at Gian Carlo Menotti's Spoleto Festival U.S.A. in Charleston, S.C., it was clearly recognizable as one of the great operas of the 20th century.

Menotti has spared no effort to make the only operatic attraction at this year's festival a production fully worthy of the work. The new English translation by Edward Downes, commissioned for this production, was still being revised in the late stages of rehearsal and may be revised more before it is produced again. But at this point it is already lucid, singable and often eloquent — and the cast of young American singers makes about 90 percent of the words intelligible, which is the final justification of opera in English.

Horowitz's playing now is, curiously, not its technical brilliance, although that remains undiminished, but its intimacy — or is it privacy? — and its delicacy. There he was alone at the piano in the center of an enormous bare stage, before an enormous audience — including Prince Charles and Diana, Princess of Wales — that had paid up to nearly \$100 for a ticket, with television cameras pointed at him from a variety of angles, and he still somehow projected the impression of a man playing for a few friends at home — or even playing for himself.

This was not, to be sure, the Scarlatti of today's harpsichord-musicologists. Horowitz's use of the Longe numbering, long since superseded by Ralph Kirkpatrick's, suggested a gross ignorance of what they have been up to in recent and not so recent years. This Scarlatti was rather an 18th-century keyboard miniaturist and innovator seen through Russian Romanticist eyes and played, with compelling affection and delicacy, on a 20th-century Grand piano.

There were standing ovations and, of course, encores, as there doubtless will be again this coming Saturday when Horowitz plays a second and final program, also in the Royal Festival Hall, and again at the odd hour — Horowitz's choice — of 4:30 p.m.

The program lent itself to this

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Britannia Hospital' Is a Standout at Cannes

By Thomas Quinn Curtiss

International Herald Tribune

CANNES, France — "The absurdities of human behavior are too dangerous to permit the luxury of sentimentalism or tears," remarks Lindsay Anderson in explaining the approach of his new film, "Britannia Hospital," in competition at Cannes.

A dizzying kind of cartoon of the happenings in a London clinic where most of the staff has gone on strike, it jumps the fine line between corrosive satire and outright burlesque. Its slapstick moments beg their game, but the static-ridiculous message of its ironic conclusion misses the mark. With Swiftian fury it opens fire on the current ways of English life: the implacable social barriers, the title-hunting of leftist Labor leaders, the ferocious protest demonstrations organized by scarcely true-blue Britons, the dubious marvels of medical progress, the unbending snobbery of the establishment, the sloppiness of conduct, the decay of discipline and the desperate strivings of the same few to maintain order on the wobbling ship of state.

Let Jean-Luc Godard sum up the theme of his new film, "Passion," an entry in the Cannes competition: "Two shepherds long for reality," he writes. "Only a dog is needed for them to make circles around everybody. Once the dog is found, the pleasure of barking and the sadness of being at bay are still missing." More barking and less recording of irritating noises — the swish of autos on wet pavement, the hideous din of every sort of noisy machinery, the heroine who stutters and pipes idiotically on a harmonica — would be appreciated.

Leonard Rossiter as the shrewd hospital administrator and Graham Crowden as the supercilious research professor merit acting laurels. Although spluttering with red-faced indignation that weakens his argument, the film is the most original and entertaining motion picture contesting.

"Hammett" by Wim Wenders

The Associated Press

LOS ANGELES — A nostalgic nine-day railroad trip from New York arrived 40 minutes early after a leisurely swing through the South for the 29 passengers who paid \$2,300 each for tickets.

In special antique cars refurbished to recapture the opulence of rail travel in bygone days, passengers sleep on fresh white linens in private compartments with their own showers. Movies, bingo, card games and musical entertainment helped them while away the miles.

Guests drank and dined as much as they liked, calling on 24-hour room service or visiting the wood-paneled "Silver Crescent" domed car that once ran with the California Zephyr.

Michelangelo Antonioni's "Identification of a Woman" has the air of being an anthology of the director's previous work: the lost-in-the-void scene from "L'Avventura," the blazing sun from "Red Desert" and the enigmatic pause and mysterious eroticism of the others. The script as usual is as hollow as a ram barrel and the secrets of its strange romance remain veiled. Antonioni has a mastery of cinematic technique, an individual style, but he is in need of an author. His investigations of

feminine psychology would have been arresting if they had been focused on a woman drawn by Kleist, for example. As it is, he operates his fiction.

Werner Herzog's " Fitzcarraldo" has a curious premise, presenting an enlightened eccentric who wants to build opera houses in the Brazilian jungles in 1900 so that Carlo can sing to the Indians. To finance this unlikely scheme, he undertakes an Amazon journey aboard a steamship that is transported over a mountain with the aid of the obliging natives, first suspected of being hostile, to gain possession of an unclaimed rubber-growing region. The protagonist, played by Klaus Kinski, is far more interesting than the interminable hauling of the ship over muddy land, but the accent is on the engineering feat rather than on the

engineering project.

There was appreciative applause, although less embarrassingly sustained, for Costa-Gavras' "Missing," a tale of an American youth lost in the overthrow of the Allende regime in Chile and of his wife's and his parents' quest to find him.

"Show the Moon" by Alan Parker, a mawkish soap opera with Albert Finney and Diane Keaton as an out-of-love married couple, was the recipient of some boozing. Only star names could have gotten it into the festival for serious consideration.

"Smithereens," the first feature by the American Susan Seidelman, in which a country girl tries her luck in the New York world of rock clubs and tenement lofts, offers nothing new, and it seems an imitation of Shirley Clarke's work of the 1960s.

Of somewhat similar background is the enormously superior "Forty Dance" by Paul Morrissey, a gruesomely grimy glimpse of Manhattan's sinister underside where adolescent male prostitutes become involved in the case of one of their tribe who has died from an overdose of drugs. Morrissey, an inventive director, broadens the bleak room in which most of the drama transpires by the use of a divided screen, and there is a powerful characterization by Mark Keyloun as a fast-spoken hustler and another by Orson Bean as a prospective client.

On the lighter side, its title notwithstanding, is "The Last Horror Film," shot in Cannes during the 1981 festival by David Winters, a spoof of the hair-raisers with the local hotels as the scenes of its

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INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

Le 'International'

It was 15 years ago last weekend that this newspaper appeared for the first time under the name "International Herald Tribune." Before that it was known as the European edition of the New York Herald Tribune — and earlier still (since our founding in 1887) as the New York Herald's European edition. To this day we are still "Le New York" to many of our Paris neighbors.

When the New York parent newspaper closed in 1967, however, its publisher, John Hay Whitney, began looking for ways to ensure both the survival and the continuing distinction of the Paris offspring. To this end, he invited First The Washington Post and then The New York Times to join him in its ownership. The Times merged its own international edition into the newly named newspaper, and the new nameplate made its first appearance on May 22, 1967.

Art Buchwald, who began his writing career with this paper in the 1950s, wondered aloud about the new nomenclature. "By the time you've finished pronouncing it, you've missed your plane," he announced. Nonetheless, the name stuck — usually shortened to "the Trib" or "the IHT" — and it soon came to signal a very new era in the life of the paper. For, increasingly, it was the new Trib's internationality that made it unique: the internationality of its news coverage and its editorial outlook, of its printing and distribution network, and above all, the internationality of its readership.

In 1967, the Trib sold about 60,000 copies a day, most of them to overseas Americans, virtually all in Western Europe with a very high proportion in France. Today most of our readers are not Americans, and no more

than 14 percent of them live in any one country. A growing network of satellite printing sites allows the IHT to reach a global audience of more than one-third of a million readers who buy almost 150,000 copies a day in 143 countries.

The same international identity that was proclaimed in our new nameplate 15 years ago has been underscored in yet another way during the past week with the introduction of a new box at the top of Page 1 identifying the IHT as "The Global Newspaper, Edited in Paris, Printed Simultaneously in Paris, London, Zurich and Hong Kong." We hope it will help new readers understand more quickly and precisely just what we are and where we come from.

The box is one of several small changes that have recently been made in our graphic appearance, all of them designed to help achieve a more contemporary look while still honoring the traditional elements that have long been part of our identity.

As we think of our traditions on this anniversary, one figure that looms especially large in our memories is that of Jock Whitney, the man whose devotion to the future of this paper led to the 1967 merger, and who served as its chairman until his death in February. "I bought the Herald Tribune," Mr. Whitney once said, "because I believe deeply in the value of articulate, intelligent discussion in our world. I wanted it to be what I always thought it was, a lively companion to a wide circle of friends."

No words could better express our continuing hopes for this newspaper as we mark this anniversary.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE

A U.S. Tilt to Iran?

The dispute that currently troubles the Middle East most is the one between Iraq and Iran. Iraq invaded 20 months ago, but the Iranian Army and Revolutionary Guards have together virtually liberated its territory. The pressing question now, for the nearby states of the Gulf as for Iraq, is whether the Iranians will keep going when they hit the Iraqi border. Iran is leaving the question open, at least for a while.

The Gulf Arabs would be in a considerably better position to sound the alarm had they not largely accepted Iraq's invasion. At the time, the United States also found reason to lower its voice. It felt, and many agreed, that Iraq's incursion would help loosen Iran's grip on the American hostages, as it did. But now the situation is transformed by the spectacle of a powerful, avenging Iran conducting a foreign policy of shah-like dimensions and carrying a doctrine of revolutionary Islam into the ethnically and socially unstable Gulf. To see Iraq's dictator, Saddam Hussein, humbled will not cost many Gulf Arabs sleep. To see Iran's dictator, Ayatollah Khomeini, on the march, will.

The United States has sat tight in this war, making (to Iraq's satisfaction) no distinction between aggressor and victim and hoping that a measure of stability would be restored

by other hands. But now that Iran's forces are so close to the border, Washington is coming under increasing Arab pressure to abandon its stated policy of not taking sides. Egypt, for one, seeing a good post-Sinai opportunity to embrace an Arab cause, would like to pass on U.S. arms to the faltering Iraqis, the more so since Israel (in silent partnership with Egypt's current Arab arch-rival, Syria) is helping to arm Iran. Otherwise, it is argued, the Soviet Union, with arms ties to both sides, may emerge as an arbiter of power in the Gulf.

The United States has solid long-term reason to pursue good relations with Iran as well as with the Gulf Arabs. Getting a policy handle on the war, however, has turned out to be tricky. Earlier, the administration made a dubious gesture of favor for Iraq, still a center of international terrorism, by striking it from the official U.S. list of international terrorists so that Iraq could buy civilian airplanes. More recently, it has started buying Iranian oil for its strategic reserve — an action that is depicted in Washington as strategically neutral but that is seen in the Gulf area as an untimely tilt. Surely there are more effective ways to express U.S. support for the integrity of both countries.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

The Folly of Binaries

The Reagan administration's plan to manufacture a new type of nerve gas shell is a certain recipe for military debacle, diplomatic humiliation and strategic risk. The Senate, which had a chance to delete the necessary funds, failed to save the administration from its folly by the narrowest of votes.

The new weapons, called binaries, are artillery shells in which two chemicals are mixed during flight to produce nerve gas. The gas is no different from that in the ample existing stockpile of U.S. nerve gas munitions. So why build new ones?

Binary weapons have one advantage, which is not even military: They are less likely to cause an accidental release. But existing shells have an excellent safety record in storage and transport. The Defense Department has contended that they are deteriorating. They are not. Nor are they obsolescent, as has been claimed.

Binary shells have the substantial drawback that their components have to be assembled on the battlefield, a task that takes several minutes. They are far bulkier, meaning fewer could be airlifted to Europe in a crisis. They have not even been field-tested, because of congressional restrictions.

Chemical weapons are ineffective against properly protected troops. Their only military

purpose is to force the enemy into protective clothing, thus slowing him up. Civilians, however, are at particular risk.

That is why the West Germans will probably forbid binaries to be deployed on their territory. Indeed, the political storm might well prompt demands for the United States to remove its existing nerve gas stockpiles, which would leave none in Europe for swift response to a Soviet attack.

There is no evidence that the Russians have significantly improved or added to their arsenal of chemical weapons. For the United States to build binaries would risk sparking off a new arms race in a particularly abhorrent field of warfare, for no strategic gain.

The Senate narrowly defeated, 49 to 45, an amendment to delete funds for binaries. But it then accepted, 92 to 0, an amendment that requires that one nonbinary chemical shell be destroyed for every binary round made, thus capping the size of the stockpile, and that no binaries be made for NATO allies except at their specific request.

If the latter amendment succeeds in signaling that the United States intends no expansion of its chemical stockpile, it may undo some of the damage of the Reagan administration's plan.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Other Opinion

The Falklands: A Textbook Example

The 1982 Falklands affair will go down in history certainly as an aggression by the Argentinians, but also as a textbook example of what can occur when nations refuse to foresee and act upon the manifest dangers posed by a historical anomaly. Retaining the Falk-

lands will need a military, administrative and financial effort totally out of proportion with British needs and interests. Yet now that the islands have been illegally invaded by Argentina and peaceful attempts to right the wrong have failed, we must liberate and hold them, at least for some time.

—From The Sunday Times (London).

May 25: From Our Pages of 75 and 50 Years Ago

1907: Glimpse Into Czar's Mind

PARIS — An editorial in the Herald comments: "There is a ring of pathos about the few words that the czar has just addressed to his people. Replying to congratulations from the Council of the Empire on the failure of the recent conspiracy against him, the emperor says, in the fewest possible words, that he regards his own life as of little value in comparison with the prosperity of the nation over which it is his destiny to rule. Coming from a monarch whose grandfather perished at the hands of an assassin, and whose own existence depends on the constant vigilance of his guards, these words give a rare glimpse into the mind of the autocrat whose place very few men would care to take."

1932: Hitlerite Legislators Seated

BERLIN — Hours before the opening of the new Prussian Diet, elected a month ago, the police threw a cordon around the neighborhood, where crowds lined the streets, eager to witness the birth of the new parliament. Especial interest was evinced in the appearance of the 162 Hitlerite deputies, among whom was the former Kaiser's son, Prince August Wilhelm, who thus starts his parliamentary career. The expectations of the crowds swarming the palace were fulfilled as the senior member, Gen. Karl Litzmann, a Hitlerite, took the chair as president. All of the Nazi deputies leapt to their feet and shouted "Hail," raising their arms in a Fascist salute, which Litzmann returned.

The Bomb Has Killed Sense of Citizen Duty

By A. Lawrence Chickering

SAN FRANCISCO — In all of the recent talk about the dangers of nuclear war, almost no attention has been given to problems related to nuclear peace. Even in peace, nuclear weapons may pose a perilous threat to democratic institutions — a threat very different, indeed exactly opposite, from that associated with war.

If nuclear weapons make the world too dangerous, they also make it too safe. They have destroyed a fundamental — perhaps the fundamental — sense of citizen obligation to country and have greatly weakened citizen commitment to the national community, including the commitment to provide for the national defense.

These effects become clear from considering the two fundamental ways in which the threat of the bomb has changed any major war immeasurably, and has thereby changed not only the way we think about war, but also the way citizens think about the need to sacrifice for the common defense.

Unthinkable

The first change is that the bomb has made "unlimited war" unthinkable — not only nuclear war, but more important, wars unlimited in the World War II sense. Because of the bomb, all future wars must be "limited," not necessarily in resources needed to wage them, but in Sorel's sense of a social myth, in public perception. Future wars cannot press on to "victory," as in Korea and Vietnam: they will not be won at all, but "nowars," simply undeclared (as in Vietnam) or declared to be only "police actions" (Korea).

The concern to localize, to avoid direct confrontation and possible escalation, rightly guaranteed continuing Madison Avenue involvement to preserve the nonidentity of all future wars. While opportunities to fight and die will exist as before, future nowars will permit none of the supporting symbols associated with patriotism and sacrifice for country. Without a draft or universal service, future wars will be fought by "others." In all future conflicts, as in Vietnam, we will insist on having both guns and butter. Without butter, the myth of the nonwar becomes untenable.

The bomb, which is the ultimate weapon, has changed war in another way by eliminating the credibility of external threat. So long as we have the ultimate weapon, the reasoning goes, no conflict is possible. Most Americans thus believe that in an important sense the bomb has made national defense obsolete. The attitude is: What can they do to us? How much "overkill" do we need? This, of course, is the language of opposition to citizens' attitudes toward their country: the bomb's impact on citizens' attitudes toward their country are ignored by policy-makers at the highest level.

The issues raised by questions of the freeze, deterrence, arms limitation and the like are certainly important. But the bomb's effect on citizens' perceived relationship to their society has defined, at the most fundamental level, the most basic issue regarding the present and future of U.S. society.

The writer is executive director of the Institute for Contemporary Studies in San Francisco. He contributed this comment to The Washington Post.

Technology, it is thought, will fight the next war; it will be a battle of technicians lurching about underground control rooms, frantically pushing buttons. What part do conventional weapons and conventional defense have in that?

The myth of nowars will not reduce the resources necessary to wage war. On the contrary, future nowars, as in Vietnam, will be expensive precisely to keep them "limited." Most importantly, again as in Vietnam, "limited" will tend to mean open-ended, without opportunity for speedy resolution.

These changes combine to weaken critically citizen commitment either to sacrifice for the national defense or to permit U.S. forces to go abroad. The public outcry over possible deployment of U.S. troops to Central America is hardly surprising. "Limited" deployments have a way of being protracted and without result. This problem is aggravated, of course, by the greatly weakened sense of citizen involvement and contact with the national defense. What personal contact is possible with nowars requiring no sacrifice of butter, or those fought by technology?

The bomb has depersonalized war absolutely, and thus has made patriotism related to war irrelevant and impossible. It has also made national defense seem irrelevant. At the deepest level, since the nation-state was established to provide for common defense, these trends are undermining a dominant motive for love of country and a sense of political obligation.

Practical Level

At a more practical level, these effects and others are influencing defense spending and toward the whole posture of U.S. foreign policy. The trends considered here are obstructing, and will obstruct, efforts by the Reagan administration and future administrations to pursue positive foreign policy objectives, particularly those that require a strong national defense. Yet despite their importance, the implications of the bomb's impact on citizens' attitudes toward their country are ignored by policy-makers at the highest level.

The issues raised by questions of the freeze, deterrence, arms limitation and the like are certainly important. But the bomb's effect on citizens' perceived relationship to their society has defined, at the most fundamental level, the most basic issue regarding the present and future of U.S. society.

The writer is executive director of the Institute for Contemporary Studies in San Francisco. He contributed this comment to The Washington Post.



Versailles: A Chance To Reassert U.S. Ties

By Joseph Kraft

WAshington — Through the fog of war around the Falklands there emerges glaring evidence as to the ramshackle structure of world politics. Crucial U.S. connections with Britain, Western Europe, the Middle East, Latin America and China seem suddenly to come up for grabs.

In this hour of shifting balances, the first requirement is to reassess basic ties. Fortunately, President Reagan's trip to Europe next month offers an occasion to bring together anew the United States, Japan and the Atlantic allies.

Leonid Brezhnev extended the olive branch by declaring in a speech in Tashkent on March 23 that Moscow considered China to be a "Socialist state." Last Tuesday, in a speech on arms control, Brezhnev indicated a willingness to negotiate an accord on nuclear weapons with Peking. A major article in Pravda two days later heralded the olive branch.

The Latin American standing of the United States has been damaged by the fight over the Falklands. In the crunch, the United States sided with Britain against Argentina. While most Latin American countries disapprove of the Argentines, they are also quick to resent slights from Washington. The U.S. tilt away from hemispheric solidarity and toward an old imperial power thus adds new insult to an old injury.

No payoff in improved ties with Britain follows. On the contrary, the imperial stand taken by the United States when it tried to mediate in the conflict was seen as a violation of the "special relationship" that London likes to claim with Washington. If the British emerge from the Falklands any less than triumphant, they will feel, not for the first time, that they were let down by the Yanks.

An absence of strong support has already poisoned British relations with the Continent. At the outset of the Falklands crisis, Britain's EEC partners unanimously voted sanctions against Argentina. When fighting ensued, the Europeans began baying second thoughts. A renewal of the sanctions was voted for only for a week. Harsh words about the Europeans have been spoken by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and President Francois Mitterrand and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt had some nasty things to say about Britain. The United States, once again, is caught in the cross fire.

Local conflicts of a deeper kind have similarly bedeviled the U.S. position in the Middle East. Stayng friendly with both Israel and the Arab world is tough enough. In addition, there are the war between Iran and Iraq. A big win for Iran would put the Islamic revolutionaries under Ayatollah Khomeini in position to threaten the conservative monarchies of the United States, once again, is caught in the cross fire.

The U.S. can accommodate European economic worries by establishing an international committee that would consider joint intervention in currency markets to keep interest rates from wild fluctuation. The NATO nations can accommodate U.S. security concerns by agreeing to consider new rules for trade and credit with the Soviet Union and the Communist bloc countries. Japan can ease protectionist pressure in the United States and Europe by a supplementary budget that raises the value of the yen, and thus works to cut exports.

Miracles will not be accomplished by any of these actions. But in a time of confusion, it is important to set currents moving in the right direction.

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LETTERS

Safire's Blinders

Regarding "Has Cuba Won Its Way?" (IHT, April 29): William Safire displays an all too easy willingness to even further narrow his conservative blinders regarding the United States' Latin American policies. It would have been truly commendable if Haig had been making a genuine effort to improve relations with Cuba. Yet based on the results of his approach in the past and in the light of the attitude of Safire's constituency, "Future memoirs will prove that the United States gave peaceful initiatives every chance. Now is the time to deal with a threat before it becomes a crisis," one has to consider the possibility that Haig would like to create a "We tried to be nice, but were rejected" atmosphere, thereby laying the groundwork for justifying a further cooling of relationships and an increase in hostilities.

If his conciliatory motives are genuine, he should be relentless in those efforts and consider the very real benefits of extending his entreaties to the Salvadoran left, rather than driving them even further into the arms of the Russians. ROBERT RODGER, Frankfurt.

Quote for Quote

Although this letter can also be a response to James Reston's column of May 10, I would like to respond specifically to the one by Enrique Zileri:

"Politically speaking, he (Rousseau) presupposed the existence and relied upon the unifying power of the common national enemy. Only in the presence of the enemy can such a thing as 'la nation une en adversité, come to pass,'" — Hébert Arentz.

"The will of the nation is one of those phrases that have been most largely abused by the wily and despotic of every age." — de Tocqueville.

LAURA PADGETT.

Frankfurt.

Reminder Of Pledge To Britain

By James Reston

WAshington — The Reagan administration made a valiant effort to avoid war between Britain and Argentina over the Falkland Islands. But now that the war has started and the British have established their garrisons on the islands, it is important to note the U.S. military commitments to Britain. This may be the key to the battle and eventually to a negotiated settlement.

At the end of April, after Secretary of State Haig's mediation mission had failed, Mr. President Reagan had ordered that British requests for materiel be met "positively" in keeping with Washington's alliance with London.

After the British landing, the White House, while still concentrating on a negotiated settlement and emphasizing that there would be no involvement of U.S. troops, said: "We will meet our commitments to Great Britain. Any responses to requests for assistance will be carefully evaluated on a case-by-case basis." The White House added that it would not discuss what kind of military aid it might provide.

Among the many miscalculations that Argentine generals have made, their failure to consider Washington's opposition to their decision to settle this territorial dispute by force of arms may be the most significant.

In the first place, they gambled that the British were still too weak to fight. They ignored Reagan's personal last-minute appeals to call off the invasion. They defied the United Nations resolution to withdraw their troops. They brushed off Haig's strenuous efforts to have

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The Morgan Bank

The History of Benin

The People's Republic of Benin acquired its name only in 1974. Prior to that it had been the Republic of Dahomey, which before that had been the French overseas territory (colony) of Dahomey, itself a part of the French West African Federation which broke up in 1960.

The name Benin came from the Bight of Benin, that curve of the West African coast around the Niger Delta which gave its name in a general way to a whole stretch of West African coast, although the original kingdom of Benin lies in what is now the Bendel State of Nigeria. Despite the geographical vagueness, and a certain confusion thus created (there are, for instance, now three universities of Benin — in Togo, in Benin, and in Nigeria) there was a logic in the name change. A part from the desire of the government of the time to create a new image for the country which went along with the introduction of the People's Republic, there was a more specific determination to get away from the powerful and sometimes avastic ethnic associations of "Dah-

omey", the name which the French had given to the whole territory which incorporated the historic kingdom of Dahomey (usually written by those concerned with correct orthography as Dan-home, or even Dan-Xome).

Not that there is not pride in Dahomey about the history of their peoples. The French colonial frontier drawn up in 1898 in the full state of the sordid operation known as the Scramble for Africa after complex negotiations with both British and Germans, covered a group of historical kingdoms. Although the frontier delimitation paid scant attention to the social, cultural and political realities of the area, apart from Dahomey, the kingdoms of Porto Novo, Djougou, Kouandé and Nikki passed largely under the French. But Dahomey was the most influential.

The early history of the kingdom is wrapped in the mists of legend. The Fon peoples, who had moved from the savannah to the forest zones nearer the coast had, in the sixteenth century, started forming small embryo states. The earliest

major one was Ardra (around the ancient city of Allada) but this was overtaken on the one hand by the coastal port of Ouidah and above all the interior kingdom of Abomey, which rose to dominate the whole Fon-speaking area, although through the 17th century Allada maintained theoretical overlordship and the celebrated dynasty of Abomey kings described themselves as *Allada*. It was this famous line of Dahomeyan kings, beginning in the 17th century, whose symbols (such as the shark and the egg of Behanzin) still figure in local carvings and the famous Abomey cloth tapestries: all claimed original descent from Agbessou, the panther god from the rich Fon pantheon.

The name Dan-home itself comes from the 17th century, from the reign of Weggbadja, who killed a chief called Dan for refusing to yield a plot of land. The king built a palace on Dan's grave and called the palace Dan-home (the belly of Dan).

In the 18th century, in common

with other West African coastal areas, the malin influence of Euro-

demand for slaves in the new world led to the development of Ouidah in particular as a slave entrepot for the whole Dan-home kingdom. The success of the kingdom as a slave trading centre, however, was more a reflection than a cause of its power. Through the reign of such kings as Agadja, Tegbesou and Kpenglé, a remarkable hierarchical society was built up in which the king symbolically renewed his authority annually, and although no despot, used centralisation and religious sanctions to maintain a remarkable power and military organisation which had one of the most considerable reputations in Africa.

At its peak Dahomey's sovereignty covered maybe one half of the land area of the modern republic, and the kingdom engaged in frequent wars with its neighbours. In the 19th century, as the anti-slavery movement developed, Dahomey excited much hostile criticism, although the brutal, deceit and intrigues were of a kind that you would find the history of any European royal family if you look hard enough. Tales of the kingdom also exercised a powerful influence on the Western imagination — an influence which has lingered on in the 20th century in, for example, the overheated novels of Frank Yerby, or, very recently, in Bruce Chatwin's bizarre piece of literary exoticism *The Viceroy of Ouidah*, which draws attention to the "Brazilian" influences in this part of the coast in the 19th century — part of the phenomenon of returning freed slaves.

Victorian commentators such as Sir Richard Burton, whose *Mission to Gelele, King of Dahomey* (written after three adventurous years in the 1860's as British consul in Ouidah), were also seized for their accounts of brutality, but they also contain fascinating glimpses of a highly organised and functioning society, that was able to retain its unity remarkably well in the face of the increasing and ultimately overwhelming European menace. As C.W. Newbury, in his introduction to the most recent re-edition of Burton's narrative, writes:

"As a thinker Burton had difficulty suspending judgement as a field-worker he had no time to stop and give vent to his less interesting pre-conceptions."

Many have remarked on the military role of women (sometimes called Amazons) in this highly mobilised society in which the Fon, as the historian Basil Davidson tells us, brought a new and revolutionary concept of kingship: "Until now, like other West African peoples, they had thought of their king or ruler as being a father to them ... The king's power is like a strong pot, and the people are the water in the pot; so long as the pot is not damaged or upset, the water is safe. But then Fon invented a different principle of government. They liked the king's power to the water in the pot: the life-giving water that was so scarce and precious to them. The life of the nation was full of dangers and they likened it to a pot with many holes in it. Only if every citizen placed his finger on a hole would the water — the king's power — be kept from wasting. This meant that the whole Fon people became involved in support of their king, who was himself the symbol and guarantee of their safety".

Such as cement (from the Onigbolo plant now being completed with Nigerian support) and eventually oil (see below). This plan was submitted to a conference document to the UN conference on problems of the least-developed countries in Paris last September. Benin is one of these countries, with a GNP per capita of \$250 (1979).

Agriculture had been a very difficult area. The serious drought in 1976 and 1977 did incalculable damage to the production of the principal export crop, oil palm, and only now is production beginning to move back to former levels (44,000 Tons exported in 1971). Until this year the 29,000 hectares of industrial oil palm plantations have been functioning at over 50 per cent of their capacity.

However in 1982, as the replacement trees mature, figures for both palm kernels and oil palm should be back to 75 per cent of pre-drought levels. Cotton, groundnuts and coffee have all had uneven production figures in recent years, but it is again expected that this year's figures will show an improvement. Cotton production, for example, had halved after a French company withdrew in 1974, although bad weather and low prices also contributed to the decline. The IDA (World Bank) and the IFAD (International Fund for Agricultural Development) of the FAO are contributing a total of \$34 million to the total cost of \$41 million for an important rural development project in Borgou province, and relates to Benin's basic budgetary disequilibrium, linked its costly public sector (one third of Benin's recurrent budget goes on education costs, especially the salaries of teachers).

Although statistics are late and sometimes hard to come by, it is evident that the major trading partners of Benin are France, the Netherlands, and Japan, each with over a billion CFA francs (50 CFA equals 1 French franc), as well as Nigeria and Niger. France and other West European countries (except the UK) supply over half of Benin's imports (France is well in the lead here with over 28 per cent as against 17 per cent for all of the rest of the EEC), but Benin's imports from China exceed those of Japan and the US put together. There is a surprisingly high figure of imports from the UK (over 13 per cent) but this may relate to indirect Nigerian trade.

Total import and export trade with the EEC as a whole is nearly 50 per cent of the total, but unfortunately imports now exceed exports — the cross-over point was in the early 1970's. This is simply a reflection of a wider gap between imports and exports, which has been present for a great deal longer, and relates to Benin's basic budgetary disequilibrium, linked its costly public sector (one third of Benin's recurrent budget goes on education costs, especially the salaries of teachers).

One way that has been suggested for breaking out of this vicious circle has been to start to reduce the birthrate — there are at the moment 3.5 million Beninois growing at a rate of 2.9 per cent per annum for, like many other third world countries there is a preponderance of young people under 25. But Benin's development planners who are now operating in the framework of an ambitious "National Programme for Economic and Social Development for the decade 1980 to 1990" see more possibilities from the restoration of the agricultural sector and the development of new export earners,

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Benin bronze sculpture



The village architecture of Northern Benin

Economic Survey

The economy of the People's Republic of Benin/Dahomey has never been a very promising one. Largely dependent on revenues from a mixed bag of agricultural commodities, with very little in the way of minerals, Benin has had to depend on transit trade, first of all with Niger, and now, increasingly with Nigeria (what is politely called "unrecorded trade"), and its own resourcefulness.

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As in all the French territories in black Africa, it was the Brazzaville conference of 1944, and the new deal offered at the end of the Second World War by General de Gaulle in the form of French Union with its universal suffrage and representation in Paris, which led to the growth of political parties in the late 1940's. There had been nationalist figures earlier, such as Louis Hounkamé, Georges Tovoula-Quené, and Paul Hazoume (still living as a political elder statesman and father figure right up to the 1960's). However, the political figure who came to the fore in the late 1940's as Dahomey's first representative in Paris was Soumou Migan Apithy, political boss of Pono Novo and the Yoruba-speaking south-east of the country. Pono Novo (or, in 1960, this was still undivided capital of Dahomey, a title progressively eroded in the fifties and sixties by the increasingly important mercantile town of Cotonou).

As in Nigeria next door, in the '50s the politics of southern Dahomey split along regional lines, with a Fon politician from Abomey, Justin Ahomadegbe Tométe, setting up a rival Fon-based political grouping to Apithy, and so became the first President of the independent republic of Dahomey. In this capacity he remained in power for more than three years, which proved to be quite a good record compared to the turbulent followed. For Dahomey, for a number of reasons, proved to be one of the earliest victims in independent Africa of the instability which came from the collapse of the expectations of independence. Many attempts were made to analyse the instability of the country, an instability which came to be associated with the shame of its citizens, with their country. It was always said that Dahomey, with its concentration of education in the south, "the Latin Quarter of Africa", a country where everyone was said to aspire to be a cabinet minister, had a particularly intense competition for the prizes of power that all too soon became a treadmill. All through the 1950's there were a succession of alliances and break-ups between the three, and at independence Maga was on top (in a loose alliance with Apithy, and with Ahomadegbe in opposition) and so became the first President of the independent republic of Dahomey.

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The New Politics

army officers, brought down following strike of the various units. Kouandate, one of the most complaisant, never succeeded in the top job. Kerekou's number two, Cédrat, as well as the others, was becoming increasingly dissatisfied and began to question some of their three-legged stool. The civilian politics, as far as I can make out, were to try and bring in an attempt without the influence of Apithy and Abomey. A substantial boyout of the old guard men faced with what was faced with this fate, determined to turn to the left. Emile Dethi Zinga, Maga's Foreign Minister, attempted to impose a deal of the trade middle classes and power base, when he quarelled with the man who had been responsible for putting Benin in the first place — a leader, turned to a leader.

This time there emerged a new era of Benin. General Soglo, then Minister of Finance, and later officially head of the political party, was one of the only bases of the old bank of nothing else, the man who had been responsible for putting Benin in the first place — a leader, turned to a leader.

At the time of Kerekou's coup in October 1972, there was little to suppose that it would be necessarily different from the various attempts by the military to take on the running of the country in the recent past. The only army government that had stood up for any length of time had been that of General Soglo, but that had founded on its own contradictions, the desperate economic situation, the clash of temperament between the old guard men from the French army like Soglo and Alley, and the younger products of French military academies, temporarily more politicised, and more in tune with the influential southern Dahomey intelligentsia. Once the problem of the brilliant but erratic product of St. Cyr was out of the way, and a number of colonels had been shunted to one side, it was possible to establish a more homogeneous government, consisting for the first time of almost entirely military men, mostly majors and captains, none over 40, with a 33-years old president, all anxious to bring in a genuinely new deal to a country that had been badly served by history and circumstance.

It was scarcely surprising that such a new deal should involve a move to the left. Professor Crawford Young, one of the most prominent of US Africanists (he is professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin) in a recent book on *Ideology and Development in Africa*, writing of "The Rise of the Afro-Marxist Regime" takes Dahomey/Benin as one of his case histories.

"In the first dozen years of independence" he writes "ideology played almost no overt role in politics; socialism was never a regime commitment... Governance was essentially the art of reconciling the contradictory pressures for budget austerity on the one hand and mollifying state employees on the other". By the 1970's, what he calls the "lexicon of dissidence" had become radicalised, especially among trade unionists and students, but the Kerekou regime did not initially signal a new departure.

Although a month after taking power Kerekou delivered an important "Discourse Programme" in which

although the word socialism was not yet mentioned, included nationalistic economic measures such as the location of the headquarters and accounting of all foreign companies operating in Dahomey, the revision of the investment code in a manner more favourable to Dahomeyans and, in a more general fashion, the taking over by the state of "vital sectors" of the economy, which sounds suspiciously like socialism. The language of the speech also provided a pointer: "the fundamental character-

istics and the primary source of our backwardness is foreign domination. The history of this domination is that of political oppression, economic exploitation, cultural alienation, and the exaggeration of inter-regional and inter-tribal contradictions".

At the same time, Kerekou had set up a 100-man advisory committee drawn from all sections of the community, who were charged with assisting the government to formulate policy. This committee drew up a trade union and student movements, and certainly its deliberations helped in the process of radicalisation. In September 1973 more institutions were launched at local and national levels, going right down to the villages, associating civilians with the military, a theme which became ever more pressing for although the soldiers were clearly still convinced of their vocation to be at the centre of power, they clearly wanted, in a country as highly politicised as Benin, to involve the civilians in government as much as possible. The highest institution created was a National Council of the Revolution.

The decisive plunge into socialism was taken in the speech on the second anniversary of the Discourse Programme — November 30, 1974. In this speech President Kerekou made the decisive step of announcing that the official "revolutionary philosophy, the basis and the guide of our revolutionary movement" would be Marxism-Leninism (see accompanying text). Shortly after the speech it was announced that committees for the defence of the revolution would be established in all public enterprises, private enterprises, state institutions and mass organisations. On the economic level, the adoption of "scientific socialism" was immediately translated into the nationalisation of insurance, major banks and France-Cable. In the industrial sector there was a two point programme which was progressively implemented over the years 1975-6. This came under a two-prong approach — the acquisition of 51% control of existing companies, and the creation of new organisations. Majority shares were obtained in, for example, two textile factories, a ceramic plant and a cement works. Oil product distribution, hotels and pharmaceuticals were also taken over, and 100% interest was obtained in electricity and water, vegetable oils and beverages. It would be wrong to exaggerate the impact of the take-overs. Industry accounted for only 7% of the gross national product, and important small private enterprises have remained in such sectors as food processing, chemicals, construction and shoes. They had certainly been paid to engage in the venture by opposition

aid was temporarily suspended until agreement was reached on the amounts for compensation.

In 1975 the change in the regime was consolidated psychologically by establishing a Peoples Republic, and changing the name of Dahomey to Benin, thereby making a complete break with the instability of recent history. As Crawford Young says: "The choice for socialism is most comprehensible as an effort to lay claim to legitimacy for regime institutionalisation. Dissatisfaction with the endemic instability of Benin politics was high. Marxism-Leninism represented in least rhetorical innovation, and a means of distinguishing the incumbent regime from the discredited past".

Not that the instability was over. The year 1975 proved difficult, with a number of plots, agitations and local tensions. At the same time the regime proceeded with the establishment of the Parti Révolutionnaire du Peuple Beninois, complete with Central Committee and Political Bureau. Things continued to be difficult right up to 1977, when an unforeseen event occurred which permitted the Kerekou regime a new lease of life, just when it had hit period in which the new Dahomey regime had run into the sand.

This was the notorious landing of a mixed group of mercenaries at Cotonou airport on January 16, 1977. The group moved into the centre of the city, became involved in a few skirmishes, and then disappeared as mysteriously as they had come. The reason for their odd behaviour was normally attributed to the fact that they may have been due to link up with a fifth column in Cotonou which never materialised. As another article shows, Benin's agricultural economy has a fragile base, but it is still a highly important foreign exchange earner.

groups, with the apparent complicity of a few foreign governments.

This story was turned to good account by Kerekou, who experienced a new surge of goodwill domestically which permitted him to gain more confidence, both at home and abroad. Indeed, since the mercenary adventure there have been few outward signs of discontent, either in the army or in the political class. Following countrywide elections for president and parliament in 1980, the President felt confident enough to release from detention the former big three of civilian polities in old Dahomey — Mevs. Maga, Abomey-Adégné and Apithy — in 1981. Quite simply, they no longer presented a threat to the regime.

More recently, the President engaged in a major political reshuffle, practising the kind of political balancing between different interest groups at which he has become increasingly expert. But the civilian majority in the government is increasingly evident when once it was all soldiers.

The observation is sometimes made that socialist Benin-style concentrates more on word than on deed. This, however, is to misunderstand the nature of the approach of the present leaders to the application of their socialism. There is a considerable awareness that you cannot run before you walk, and that you have to take into account the traditional nature of African society before trying to put into practice any theories.

The country is celebrating our determination to think as truly free men and to act as responsible citizens fully aware of our capacities, our potentialities, and what our country represents in the concert of nations", said the President.

He went on: "In order to achieve this goal, we must first of all correct our bourgeois mentality and purge our society of everything that is a source of subversion, disorder and anarchy. We must also ensure national unity at all costs. Our ideology will not be dogmatic. It will be the beacon guiding our move to radically transform our society and its people in all fields.

"Our ideology must take into account the historic experience of other States which, before us, have chosen to embark upon a pure, authentic and social revolution. Our ideology must be thoroughly and precisely defined to fit the place where it operates, that is our anti-colonialist society. Our ideology must enable the people of Dahomey to search for and maintain militant and anti-imperialist friendship with all peoples of the world on the basis of respect for territorial integrity, non-interference in the affairs of others and the safeguarding of national dignity and sovereignty.

"For all these reasons, convinced that they reflect the profound aspirations of our militant people, we solemnly proclaim today, November 30, 1974, that the new society in which each Dahomean will find

Where there has been more effort to practice what is preached has been in the educational sector where, from 1975 onwards, a serious attempt has been made to change curricula, and introduce the idea of "la nouvelle école" — much of which is less to do with ideology than adapting to real needs. Church schools have come under considerable pressure from the government, but in practice the Catholic church is strong, and Benin's cardinal, Bernardin Gantin, Archbishop of Cotonou is a prestigious figure not only in Rome but in Benin. Hence the importance of Pope John Paul II's somewhat unusual visit to Benin in February, in which posters of Marx and Lenin and Mao were displayed alongside that of the Pope. Although President Kerekou spoke to the Pope of Benin's attachment to Marxism-Leninism, and the Pope

said he saw signs of a "new spring" for the church in Benin, but that the task was a difficult one, there was no doubt that the visit was extremely popular, and the government itself made capital from the Pope's popularity. Any government would do the same.

One key to understanding the apparent paradox of Benin is that Beninois are a deeply religious people. African religion, with its animism and pantheon of gods co-exists easily alongside Christianity that the people of the south so easily adopted, and the Islam that penetrated to the north. But all these co-exist alongside the official Marxist philosophy, which tends to be treated as another religion. You have only to listen to the "Internationale" as sung by local choirs to make the connection.

This very factor, this tendency to

be all-embracing, may well also contribute to the present stability, and may be the best way for Benin to pursue its own African identity. The ultimate paradox that you find in the new Benin is that the sort of stability that is so solicitously sought after by Western industrialists and investors seems to have been achieved by a regime that has certainly vociferously preached, and on occasion modestly put into practice, some of the measures that might normally frighten investors and aid donors away. That this does not seem to have happened, and in fact encouraging international noises have been made from some conservative quarters like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund about the sensible management of the economy by these pragmatic marksmen, suggests that the Kerekou formula may in fact be the best one

for Benin.

The balancing of the budget for the first time since independence in 1976 may have been due to the spin-offs, both legitimate and under-cover, from the oil-rich oil boom, and good fortune seems likely to continue when oil revenues start coming in from the offshore Seme field (see economic article) but had Kerekou allowed ideology to carry him into financial foolishness (like, for example, leaving the franc zone), the story could still be very different. In any case, his Nigerian neighbours could tell him that oil creates many headaches as it solves. The budget remains, for the moment, fragile. The civil service is still heavily over-established. The temptation for prestige projects is ever present. But the lesson is that for Benin to achieve stability, it had to move left.

"The only way to rapid development, dignity and national independence"

Extracts from a broadcast made by President Kerekou on November 30, 1974, on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Government's proclamation of its revolutionary programme:

"The country is celebrating our determination to think as truly free men and to act as responsible citizens fully aware of our capacities, our potentialities, and what our country represents in the concert of nations", said the President.

"We know that without this doctrine, Dahomey has no other way of rapid development, in dignity and national independence. This fundamental option which the people of Dahomey have decided to adopt from today, this fundamental option for the establishment of a socialist society in Dahomey, is an historic necessity. From today, all our actions, our ways of acting and thinking, must tend to translate this option into fact. For this reason our revolutionary philosophy, the basis of our revolutionary movement, is Marxism-Leninism.

"But given this movement towards Marxism-Leninism, the enemies and detractors of the Dahomean people can be expected to try to make people believe that the Marxism-Leninism doctrine is satanic. We again deny this suggestion. In fact, Marxism-Leninism is a philosophy and guide for every revolutionary action, an instrument for scientific analysis, a rational method for work, and an exemplary code of conduct for daily social life. Marxism-Leninism is intended to liberate the masses from all reactionary ideologies and manifestations in all forms.

"Some of our fellow countrymen can say that Marxism-Leninism is not an authentic Dahomean doctrine. Such people are only deceiving themselves because Marxism-Leninism comprises universal laws, relating to the struggles of mankind and the

radical transformation of the world and its societies, in order to eradicate completely the exploitation of man by man.

"Having fixed the objective of the future Dahomean socialist society and having taken into account the country's realities, which determine the nature of its revolution at the present stage, Marxism-Leninism is our instrument of analysis, the guide of our actions and our doctrine for our daily and social life. This will enable to complete the unfinished tasks in our new policy programme of national independence. It will henceforth guide us in finishing the most urgent tasks of the revolution, which are:

"To eradicate foreign domination completely from our country. To fight actively against exploitation of man by man, racism, apartheid, regionalism, tribalism, inter-regional imbalance, social injustice, and so on;

"To make our people think in the same way, with a view to achieving a greater unity of action based on our daily and social life. This will enable to complete the unfinished tasks in our new policy programme of national independence. It will henceforth guide us in finishing the most urgent tasks of the revolution, which are:

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BÉNIN

"Prêt pour la Révolution! La Lutte continue."

Potentiel minier prometteur

Les ressources minières du Bénin sont insuffisamment connues. Les quelques prospections effectuées aboutissent à des résultats qui, quoique parcellaires, permettent d'augurer favorablement des possibilités pour le Bénin d'asseoir son autonomie et de développer ses exportations.

A ce jour, les résultats des prospections du pays peuvent être résumés comme suit :

• en ce qui concerne le pétrole, sur peu puis foré l'off shore, cinq sondages donnent des résultats positifs et les estimations des réserves situées portent sur une quarantaine de millions de barils.

• Pour ce qui est du phosphaté, les gisements découverts au Nord du pays ont une teneur moyenne de 20 à 32% et les réserves sûres étaient estimées à 2,5 millionne tonnes. Les travaux en cours permettent de situer, entre 5 et 6 millions de tonnes, le potentiel existant qui pourra ainsi répondre aux besoins du développement agricole ("superphosphate") et à une partie des besoins des pays voisins.

• Pour le minerai de fer, les réserves situées essentiellement au Nord du pays ont été estimées à 500 millions de tonnes, de teneur moyenne. Elles permettent de répondre à la demande du pays et des pays voisins.

• Quant aux gisements de kaolin, ils se situent à un niveau assez moyen des besoins locaux (céramique, papeterie, -pesticide, caoutchouc, parfumerie, etc.) ; un potentiel d'exportation existe au niveau international. En effet, sur 800 km² devant être prospectés, une superficie de 0,2 km² a donné 50.000 tonnes de réserves.

• Pour ce qui est de calcaire, les prospections de gisement d'Arjan, qui traverse le Bénin d'Est en Ouest, ont abouti déjà à des programmes opérationnels (traitement du capacité de caire pour les besoins de la cimentière d'Arjan) alors indiquant de plus un potentiel supérieur, en quantité et en qualité, et d'accès plus facile, dans le région de Massé et dans la Mono. Ces derniers gisements pourront être exploités, notamment pour couvrir les besoins des usines de broyage de chaux au Sud.

• Pour ce qui est de l'or, les recherches costaudes d'une manière plus intensive autour des gisements de porté, pour l'instant modeste, et dont les filons offrent des teneurs de 80 grammes par tonne, alors que la norme de rentabilité se situe à 5 g la tasse.

• Quant aux autres minéraux (rutile, chrome, uranium, zinc, plomb, nickel, etc.), les indexées existantes sont peu encourageantes dans le cadre de quelques prospections effectuées, mais ne peuvent être considérées comme définitives.

• En ce qui concerne le sable, les recherches qui sont achèvées ont dégagé un potentiel important pourtant être valorisé dans l'industrie du verre.

• Quant au sel marin, des possibilités existent pour couvrir les besoins du marché intérieur et pour l'exportation.

• Il est à noter, enfin, que l'importance des eaux minérales et thermales est telle qu'elle a donné déjà lieu exploitation.

Les programmes de prospections minières qui vont se poursuivre, d'une manière plus systematicque et plus intensive, permettront de définir, à court terme, un programme opérationnel de forages.

Parallèlement, le renforcement des moyens de recherche et de formation est entrepris (projets de construction et d'équipement d'un laboratoire national chargé d'amplifier des échantillons géochimiques, plus important que le laboratoire actuel).

En attendant, l'évaluation définitive des gisements minéraux dont le potentiel pourra être tel qu'il permettra de transformer complètement l'économie du pays, les programmes à moyen terme de mise en valeur se ces ressources s'orientent vers les projets suivants :

• l'exploitation du pétrole off-shore réalisée avec l'assistance technique norvégienne. Elle sera amorcée sur une dizaine d'années avec les seules réserves connues actuellement.

• l'exploitation du phosphate

• l'exploitation du kaolin

• l'exploitation du marbre par les soins d'une société d'économie mixte (Bénin-Libre)

• l'exploitation du minerai de fer

• l'exploitation des gisements d'or de Perma (Atakora)

Dans les 3 à 5 années à venir, la confection de la carte géologique et l'achèvement des sondages et forages sur les zones identifiées d'une manière assez précise, permettront d'élaborer un programme plus conséquent d'exploitation et de valorisation du potentiel minier.

Potentiel touristique riche

Le Bénin, par son riche héritage culturel, par la beauté et la variété de ses paysages, figure parmi les très grandes régions touristiques Ouest africaines. Sur le territoire béninois se trouvent toutes les variétés de paysages et de climats reconnus en Afrique de l'Ouest. Des côtes atlantiques aux sables du Sôbel, le Bénin offre au visiteur tout ce qu'il peut trouver en Afrique. Son continent est bordé de plages superbes. Ses fleuves et rivières poissonneux, la fraîcheur et l'oxygène des palmiers, ses villages-lacustres, ses châteaux-forts de l'Atakora, sa faune abondante, son folklore et son art, ses parcs nationaux, tout au Bénin permet de trouver, à quelques heures de l'Europe, le calme et le cadre naturel que recherche l'homme moderne.

Au Sud, le littoral et longé par un chapelier de lagunes qui offrent un milieu aquatique très propice aux promenades, la nuit comme le jour, à la pêche, au ski nautique. La couverture végétale, faite de mangroves et de cocotiers, est parcourue par le route des pêches de Cotonou à Ouidah. Nombre d'autres motifs d'attraction, de natures très diverses, s'y rencontrent également tels que :

- le lac Nokoué et ses multiples villages touristiques (Garvie, So-Awa), les villages tonins
- la villa traditionnelle de Ouidah, haut-lieu du culte vodou, siège du temple Dangbe
- le lac Ahémé avec ses abords pittoresques et les eaux thermales de Bopa et Possotoné
- les plages de Grand-Popo avec les eaux minérales du Mono aux bouches du "ROY"
- les impressionnantes chutes d'Adjarala
- les eaux poissonneuses de la lagune de Porto-Novo qui communiquent avec le lac Nokoué par le canal Tôché constituant un vaste lac de promenade paisible entre les villes de Cotonou et de Lagos

A ces richesses naturelles s'ajoute la richesse du patrimoine culturel de la région. L'artisanat d'art y est très florissant. L'histoire et le passé de tous les peuples de la région sont représentés à travers les villages, les sanctuaires et les musées, les cimetières, les sculptures sur bois, etc. . .

Le système de solution technique et financière plus efficace de la part de l'Etat, des provinces, des pays amis et des organisations internationales, permettra d'optimiser les réalisations infrastructurales sociales par les intérêts eux-mêmes.

OBJECTIFS, STRATÉGIE ET POLITIQUE DE DÉVELOPPEMENT POUR LA DÉCENNIE 1980

Objectifs prioritaires

Les objectifs et la stratégie nouvelle de développement découlent du discours de l'orientation nationale du Chef de l'Etat, daté du 30 novembre 1972, et des documents et documents, programmes ultérieurs.

Trois aspects fondamentaux caractérisent cette stratégie de développement :

• développement démocratique, qui a pour objectif l'orientation des évolutions de l'économie nationale, soit le résultat de la volonté nationale, sans toutefois promouvoir l'islamisation et ce respectant les intérêts des partenaires étrangers

• développement planifié, qui vise à une manière consciente des transformations économiques et sociales et une participation active de tous les travailleurs dans la conception et la mise en œuvre de ces transformations

• les trois fondamentaux de développement sont d'éliminer les phénomènes de sous-développement, de créer des conditions permettant à chacun de vivre décemment de son travail et d'éprouver ses capacités personnelles, et de saisir, aussi pleinement que possible, ses besoins matériels et sociaux-culturels.

Ces trois fondamentaux seront réalisés par l'intermédiaire d'objectifs plus opérationnels et par une stratégie appropriée de développement.

Les objectifs prioritaires pour la décennie sont :

- le parc national de la Pendjari
- le parc national du W
- les réserves de faune de la Kourou

• les zones cynégétiques de la Pendjari, les calanques de Taneka

• l'insuffisance de la planification de formation professionnelle à tous les niveaux de qualification, notamment dans les disciplines scientifiques et techniques

• étoilettage des stimulants financiers pour les compétences, de niveau élevé ou spécialisé, qui entraîne un certain excès de cette main-d'œuvre qualifiée

• spécialisation toujours plus marquée, exigée par une accélération exogène de la sophistication des techniques de planification et de gestion

• une stratégie de répartition de la main-d'œuvre, qualifiée ou non, reste aussi à entreprendre sur l'ensemble du territoire national et pour les différents secteurs, à commencer par le secteur rural.

C'est ainsi que des programmes de peuplement des régions sous peuplées, dans les prochaines décennies, sont nécessaires pour augmenter la pression démographique qui s'exerce sur le Sud où 54% de la population vit sur 10% des terres les moins fertiles du pays.

Une stratégie de répartition de la main-d'œuvre, qualifiée ou non, reste aussi à entreprendre sur l'ensemble du territoire national et pour les différents secteurs, à commencer par le secteur rural.

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C'est

BUSINESS / FINANCE

TUESDAY, MAY 25, 1982

Page 13

BUSINESS BRIEFS

DeLorean Plant in Belfast to Close

BELFAST — Hopes for rescue of the DeLorean Motor assembly line dimmed Monday when government-appointed receivers announced the insolvent factory will be closed on May 31, and 1,500 workers paid off Friday.

The receivers, Sir Kenneth Cork and Paul Shewell, said there is no alternative to closure but the assembly line could reopen if any late proposals provide a sound basis for doing so. Britain pumped nearly \$144 million into the plant, where production got under way in early 1981.

The closure follows the withdrawal of an offer by a New York real estate firm to invest \$35 million in the struggling maker of gull-winged, stainless-steel cars selling for \$25,000 and built especially for the U.S. market. H.J. Kalikow & Co. Inc. said Friday its offer to inject fresh capital into the DeLorean plant had been rejected by the British receivers.

Talbot, Iran Renew Auto Contract

COVENTRY, England — Talbot, the British car manufacturer owned by Peugeot of France, has renewed a contract with Iran to export over 65,000 kits to build cars, a company spokesman said Monday. Sources said the contract would be worth about \$270 million yearly, and it has given a big boost to Talbot, whose plant has been working a one-day week since January.

The company originally signed a contract with Iran to provide car kits in 1967, but because of the Gulf war its exports had virtually ceased. A shipment last week was the first since October, 1981. The kits are used at a plant south of Tehran to manufacture the Peukan car.

Trans-Gabon Railway Adds Britons

LONDON — Taylor Woodrow International and George Wimpey International are the two British members of a European consortium that will build the second phase of the Trans-Gabon Railway. Taylor Woodrow announced Monday. The firm said the agreement is worth about \$170 million.

The work is to be completed by mid-August, 1987, and is on the section of the railway from Boone to Franceville. Taylor Woodrow and Wimpey each hold an 11 percent stake in the consortium for the project. Taylor Woodrow said.

Hong Kong Bank Building Is Sold

HONG KONG — The Hoog Kong Land Co. said Monday it will acquire the Bank of Canton building in the central district here for \$50 million. Hong Kong dollars (\$86 million). This amounts to about 50,000 dollars a square foot.

The Bank of Canton will provide financing for a portion of a planned redevelopment, which is being undertaken in conjunction with two other developments nearby. The developments will produce a total of about 340,000 square feet of office and retail space, the company said.

Nippon Telephone Opens Firm

TOKYO — Japan's state-owned Nippon Telegraph & Telephone said it will establish a company here with Japanese commercial banks and other interests to design and manufacture its own custom large-scale integrated circuits.

The new company will be capitalized at 100-million yen (\$430,000), of which 50 percent will be put up by the telephone company. The balance will be put up by nine major banks and companies related to the telephone company, the announcement said.

Ford's Australian Profit Up Sharply

SYDNEY — Ford of Australia Monday announced a record profit of \$52 million for 1981. The result marked a strong recovery from the \$300 million profit for 1980 and outstripped the previous record of \$32.7 million posted by Ford's main Australian rival, General Motors-Holden, in 1969.

Japanese Plan Small Video Cassette

TOKYO — A group of 12 Japanese firms said Monday they plan to market a compact video cassette as the first step towards a mini-video system. The new cassette is about a fourth the size of a conventional videotape.

The cassette has a 20-minute recording and playing time and can be used on conventional video recorders with an adaptor, the announcement said. No decision on the timing for marketing the cassette or a mini-system has been made.

Compiled From Agency Dispatches

Prices on NYSE Mixed In Sluggish Dealings

From Agency Dispatches

NEW YORK — Prices on the New York Stock Exchange rallied in the last hour Monday to close mixed in very sluggish trading.

Cots in broker loan rates by several banks lent some strength over the close.

The Dow Jones industrial average was down slightly most of the day but ended with a gain of 0.48 point to 836.38. Declines led advances by around 800 to 570.

Volume slumped to 3.78 million shares from 4.53 million Friday. Monday's volume was the lowest since Feb. 12, when a holiday kept many traders away.

Last week, the industrial average fell 21.88 points, despite Friday's 3.42-point gain.

Analysts said the slow trading over the past week reflects uncertainty about the course of interest rates, the economy, the U.S. budget deficit and the Falkland Islands battle.

Also weighing on the market was the unexpectedly large rise of \$2.3 billion in the M-1 measure of money supply for the week ended May 12. Although there is speculation that the Federal Reserve has relaxed monetary policy, analysts said investors want to see a decline in interest rates before committing funds to the market.

A sign of lower rates came late in the day, when Manufacturers Hanover, Bankers Trust and Continental Illinois announced cuts in the rates they charge to brokers on loans using securities as collateral to 14.75 percent from 15.5 percent.

Markets Closed

All financial markets were closed Monday in Canada for a holiday.

CURRENCY RATES

Interbank exchange rates for May 24, 1982, excluding bank service charges.									
	S.	E.	D.M.	F.F.	H.L.	G.M.	S.F.	D.L.	U.S.
American	2.553	4.615	41.725	42.77	2.084	15.675	2.059	22.225	5.625
Brussels (a)	4.534	70.322	18.85	7.045	2.525	1.891 x	4.639	5.296	117.07
Frankfurt	4.534	41.913	18.85	7.045	2.525	1.891 x	4.639	5.296	117.07
London (b)	1.581	2.394	4.152	5.275	2.020.46	479.53	29.429	65.534	163.65
Paris	1.224.55	2.393.00	56.73	72.35	—	479.53	29.429	65.534	163.65
New York	5.57	10.784	24.811*	—	0.0784*	0.2002	0.0794	0.1908	0.5108
Paris	1.547	2.322	4.152	5.275	2.020.46	479.53	29.429	65.534	163.65
Zurich	1.2071	2.578	3.829	4.152	1.021.27	2.613	4.45	2.024	5.875
1 U.S. C.U.	1.1355	2.629	3.859	4.147.17	2.599	4.795	2.261	8.851	

Dollar Values

Equiv.	Currency	Per	Per	Currency	Per
1.6256	Australian	4.534	1.0463	Icelandic	21.115
0.6115	Austrian schilling	14.72	0.4242	Swiss franc	5.074
1.2071	Belgian franc	2.393	0.4246	S.Korean won	0.7454
1.224.55	Canadian	2.393	0.4246	U.S. dollar	1.0000
1.2071	Danish krone	2.578	0.4246	U.S. dollar	1.0000
1.2222	Dutch florin	2.785	0.4246	U.S. dollar	1.0000
1.2071	French franc	2.578	0.4246	U.S. dollar	1.0000
1.2071	German mark	2.578	0.4246	U.S. dollar	1.0000
1.2071	Greek drachma	2.418	0.4242	U.S. dollar	1.0000
1.2071	Hong Kong \$	2.5915	0.4246	U.S. dollar	1.0000
1.2071	Iraqi dinar	3.4025	0.3722	U.A.E. dirham	3.673

Starting 1/2000 (francs). (b) Amounts needed to buy one pound. (*) Units of 100. (x) Units of 1,000.

A Sound Market In Home Stereo Hits Sour Note

By Daniel Shannon
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — As surely as the needle tracks the groove, the stereo component industry followed a path of rising sales and profits during the 1970s. Then sales went into a three-year slump, which is worsening. Many factors have contributed to the industry's recession:

• intense competition from different electronic entertainment products, most notably video.

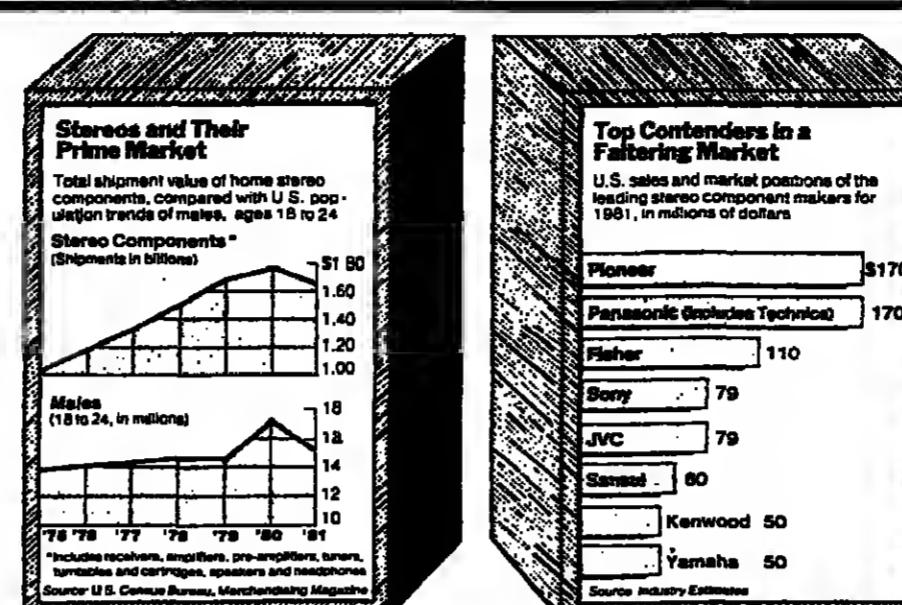
• Shrinkage of the key 18-to-24 age group, the major market. The makers of such brands as Pioneer, Technics, Fisher, Sony and JVC rode the demographic wave of steadily increasing numbers of males in this age group, but that wave crested to 1980 at 17.3 million and began a downward trend, hitting 15.2 million for 1981.

• Tightening of consumer credit and the general recessionary economy.

"Another problem," asserted James Twedahl, executive vice president of James B. Lansing Sound, manufacturers of JBL loudspeakers, "is that there aren't very many second-time buyers, because audio products don't have built-in obsolescence."

As the youth market began to decline, a host of other electronic entertainment products were becoming available. Video games and personal computers, according to the industry, have made substantial inroads into home stereo. Meanwhile, audio-related products — portable car stereos, micro-component systems and Walkman-scale personal electronics products — scored deep cuts into the home industry.

The problems were compounded by the reluctance of the dominant Japanese manufacturers — Pioneer, Panasonic subsidiary of Matsushita Electronic, Sanyo's Fisher, Sony, JVC, Sansui Electric, Kenwood, Yamaha and others — to limit their output.



Consumers are probably the only real winners, since audio dealers traditionally operate on margins close to cost, regardless of market demand. "Those dealers are crazy," said David Karron, vice president of sales for Fisher. "They'll buy a turntable for \$140 and sell it for \$150. During a slump, like now, they'll pay \$90 for the same turntable and sell it for \$100. What's in it for them? They're ab-

solutely nuts."

The stereo component industry, which scored annual volume gains in sales to dealers of 15 percent and 20 percent until demand crested to 1978, has seen that volume decline by approximately 10 percent a year since 1979. The industry may do worse, according to industry analysts, who predict a 15 percent decrease in U.S. sales volume for 1982.

Currently, manufacturer-to-dealer sales are in the \$1.4 billion range, with the retail market value of shipments last year in excess of \$1.6 billion. And that figure does not include another \$173.4 million in stereo tape decks.

With a dealer base of approximately 8,000, many with multiple retail outlets, the stereo component manufacturers have flooded the market with high-quality audio equipment. While consumer sales fell about 10 percent last year, the value of shipments to dealers was down just 2.8 percent.

The present state of the stereo market is not unlike the evolution undergone by other industries — televisions, automobiles, tires — in which technological differences and brand distinctions become less clear indicators of a company's superiority and purchasing is based on price. Two or three years ago, an audio component system which included a quality turntable, tape deck, receiver and a set of speakers sold in the United States for \$1,000. Comparable systems retail from \$400 to \$1,000.

Perhaps hardest hit has been giant Pioneer, which reported losses last year of \$7 million on sales to dealers of about \$170 million, according to one industry executive. A new Pioneer (Continued on Page 13, Col. 3)

AEG Presses Bonn For Emergency Aid

By Donald Nordberg
Reuters

FRANKFURT — AEG-Telefunken said Monday that it is urgently seeking government aid and new partnerships to cope with huge losses expected this year.

A spokesman for the electrical products maker, West Germany's eighth largest employer, said AEG is holding talks with several companies, including General Electric of Britain. (The British company is unrelated to the U.S. company of the same name.)

Talks also have been held with the finance and economics ministries in Bonn, he said.

enough of this year's rescue package together to offer some promise to shareholders at the annual meeting in Berlin June 22.

A meeting of the company's bankers is scheduled for June 14. Bankers say AEG already has asked them to forgo debt repayments this year, probably of the same size as last year. There also have been reports that AEG wants the banks to inject more capital. In late 1979, the one Swiss and 23 West German members of the group provided 900 million DM of capital. The banks now hold 50 percent of AEG's shares.

Market Rumors

According to rumors on the Frankfurt stock exchange, a partnership with GE of Britain would involve AEG's business in industrial technology, one of the few areas in which AEG is profitable.

GE would take a 49 percent stake in this portion of the business, and AEG would hold the rest, according to the speculation. The AEG spokesman declined to discuss the matter directly but said that in any of the plans under consideration AEG would want a majority stake.

The accord could

Chase Ponders Extent Of Drysdale Debacle

By Robert A. Bennett

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Until last week, morale had never been better at Chase Manhattan, the nation's third-largest bank holding company. Stock analysts as well as company executives had been ebullient about Chase's strong and apparently well-balanced earnings over the last two years.

That image was badly marred when the bank announced it would take an after-tax writeoff of \$135 million as a result of its dealing with Drysdale Government Securities.

The loss, equivalent to a third of Chase's 1981 earnings and threatens to produce an overall loss in the current quarter. Analysts estimated the pretax charge at \$70 million.

More important than the financial loss was the potential loss of a radiant image that Chase had already worked to achieve.

Stock Price Dips

The bank's reputation was tarnished during the middle 1970s as a result of faltering earnings and a highly publicized \$20 million loss in bond trading. Chase made major efforts to turn itself around, but last week's debacle raises the question of whether those years of effort might have been in vain.

This problem was reflected in the trading of Chase's stock. The shares tumbled 7½ in three days following the Drysdale disclosure. Already bankers and other managers in the money markets have begun asking how Chase could have become so deeply involved with Drysdale, which was shunned by most other banks and widely known for highly leveraged speculations.

Was Chase greedy, or were Chase's controls unable to detect that one of its own departments, perhaps unwittingly, was placing large sums in jeopardy?

In an interview Friday, Willard C. Butcher, Chase's chairman, said he does not know how the problem came about, and thus far he has been concentrating on how to deal with the fallout. He also refused to comment on legal liability. "I am not going to debate the legal niceties in the press," he summed up.

The losses were caused by Drys-

Renault to Distribute Jeeps

PARIS — Renault said Monday that it will distribute American Motors Corp. CJ four-wheel-drive Jeeps, equipped with Renault diesel engines, in France and Belgium beginning in June. The French automaker said it hopes to sell 12,000 units in the first year.

Interest rates

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French

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Chase Trading Under Study

From Agency Dispatches

WASHINGTON — The American Stock Exchange Monday announced an investigation into trading in Chase Manhattan's put options for the trading days before it disclosed problems with Drysdale Government Securities.

The exchange said such investigations are routine in cases of significant news announcements. A put is an option to sell stock at a specified price.

For Home Stereo, the Light At End of Tunnel Is a Laser

(Continued from Page 13)

group, a result of an April 1 merger of its hi-fi marketing arm, U.S. Pioneer Electronics Corp., and Pioneer Corp. of America, its car stereo distributor, is said to be carrying six to eight months of inventory in its U.S. warehouses.

"It's a result of the Japanese style of management," said IBL's Mr. Twardzik. "They built their plant capacity way up beyond any reason, and it's hard for them to turn off the spigot."

Moving the product is the name of the game this year as audio equipment manufacturers, unable to increase volume, jostle each other for market share. Leader Pioneer is being threatened by Panasonic's Technics line. However, regardless of which company leads the current soft market, it takes more than a market position to break even.

Audio components have reached a penetration level of 30 to 32 percent in the United States, according to the Electronic Industry Association. Few within the industry accept that figure as anywhere near the saturation point, pointing to 45 percent penetration in Europe and 65 percent in Japan.

"Technology has rather flattened out in terms of noticeable improvements," said Roland Martin of Sony. "Digital audio equipment is unquestionably the future for this industry."

The industry is anticipating a boost next year when the first digital disk player from North American Philips is introduced. Though it is not expected to replace conventional stereo systems immediately, the Philips player, which incorporates a technology called pulse code modulation, is expected to become the industry standard.

Mr. Butcher gave two reasons why Chase decided to pay the entire \$270 million. One was to reduce its potential liability. If the interest were not paid and if the government securities markets collapsed, Mr. Butcher feared there might have been many more claims against Chase.

Another reason was that "the cornerstone of this bank is its sense of responsibility, and we were going to live up to it and thus preserve its reputation."

Analysts See U.S. GNP Edging Up

From Agency Dispatches

forecast a fiscal year 1983 budget deficit of \$120 billion.

The 400 economists and business analysts surveyed predicted that real, or inflation-adjusted, gross national product, which fell at a 4.3 percent annual rate in the first quarter, will decline at a 0.1-percent rate in the second. GNP will then rise at a 2.4-percent annual rate in the third quarter and at a 2.9-percent pace in the fourth, they predicted. The survey forecast a 3.4-percent increase in 1983.

Inflation will be at an annual rate of 5.5 percent in the fourth quarter and 5.7 percent in 1983, down from 8.9 percent last year, the survey predicted. It forecast average annual inflation of 6.6 percent for the decade.

The survey said the prime rate should decline almost two percentage points by year-end from the current 16.5 percent, then fall to 12.9 percent by the end of 1983.

The drop in interest rates should contribute to a slow recovery in

housing and auto sales, the survey said. It predicted that the annual rate of housing starts will climb to 1.14 million by December and 1.38 million in 1983's fourth quarter from April's 881,000. Auto sales are likely to rise to an annual rate of 8.9 million by year-end and 9.7 million in late 1983 from 8.25 million in 1982's first quarter, according to the forecast.

Unemployment was forecast at 9 percent in the fourth quarter, down from 9.4 percent in April. By 1983's final quarter, unemployment should be down to 7.9 percent, the survey said.

Only 26 percent of those polled said they thought the Federal Reserve's monetary policy was too restrictive. Five percent thought Fed policy on money supply growth is too loose.

"Fiscal policy is seen as the major problem by those taking part in the survey," the association said. Sixty-three percent said fiscal policy is too easy.

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Jesup & Lamont Holding Co.

through a subsidiary and an affiliate

has purchased the principal assets of

The United States Playing Card Company

(a subsidiary of Diamond International Corporation)

for consideration approximating \$50,000,000

The undersigned

- located and initiated the transaction on the purchasers' behalf
- negotiated the Purchase Agreement with Diamond International Corporation
- arranged financing



May 25, 1982

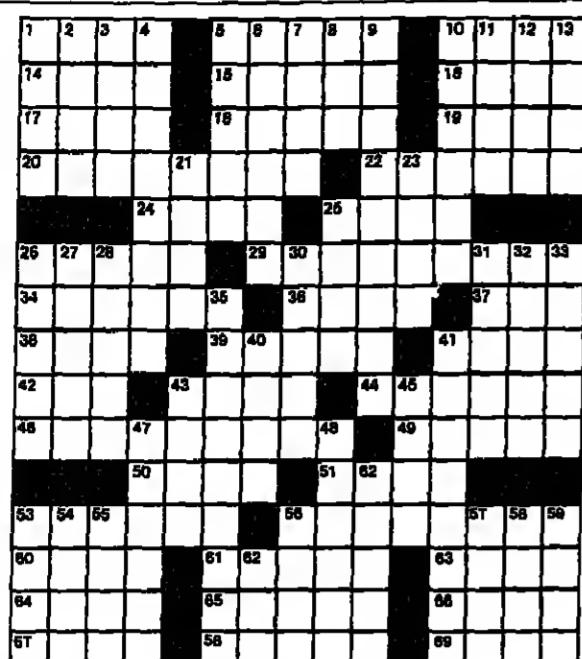
100 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017 Telex 425069

1832 was the year when the Bank for Regional Development was established in Westphalia to administer funds allocated for reconstruction at the Congress of Vienna. In 1854 a similar financial institution was founded in Cologne, which in 1877 moved to Düsseldorf, the main center of the region. Between these two institutions an active flow of business developed and the close contacts with the local savings banks (local universal banks) was greatly intensified. 1969 saw the merger of the two main institutions in Düsseldorf and Münster to form Westdeutsche Landesbank - WestLB - which has become one of Germany's foremost financial institutions and a major force in international wholesale banking.

1981 was a year of consolidation for the Bank against the background of

CROSSWORD

Edited by Eugene T. Maleska



ACROSS

- 1 Python relatives
5 Plus factor
10 Kind of carriage
14 Isometric
15 Jittery
16 Matty or Felipe
17 Vinland's Erickson
18 More aloof
19 Wagner theme
20 Flattery
22 Place of berths
24 Direct a helmsman
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44 Bone-china item

WEATHER

HIGH	LOW	LOW	HIGH	LOW
C	F	F	C	F
ALGARVE	22 73	14 57	Cloudy	LOS ANGELES
ALGIERES	23 77	10 57	Fair	MADRID
AMSTERDAM	17 63	10 58	Cloudy	MANILA
ATHENS	24 75	14 59	Cloudy	MOSCOW
AUCKLAND	16 61	9 57	Rain	MONTREAL
BANGKOK	33 69	24 58	Foggy	NEW YORK CITY
BEIRUT	23 73	16 61	Cloudy	MIAMI
BERLIN	22 73	11 59	Cloudy	MILAN
BOSTON	16 63	10 58	Rain	MOSCOW
BRUSSELS	16 61	10 58	Cloudy	NAIROBI
BUDAPEST	23 73	11 57	Cloudy	NASSAU
BURGOS AIRS	16 61	6 47	Fair	NEW DELHI
CAIRO	30 84	16 61	Fair	NEW YORK
DAKAR	17 61	11 57	Cloudy	NICARAGUA
CASABLANCA	23 73	17 61	Cloudy	OSLO
CHICAGO	20 66	5 58	Foggy	PARIS
COPENHAGEN	15 59	10 58	Rain	PEKING
COSTA DEL SOL	29 84	20 61	Cloudy	PHILADELPHIA
DAMASCUS	25 79	11 59	Foggy	REYKJAVIK
DUBLIN	15 59	10 58	Cloudy	RIO DE JANEIRO
EDINBURGH	16 61	7 45	Cloudy	ROME
FLORENCE	24 75	16 61	Cloudy	SAN PAUL
FRANKFURT	24 75	16 61	Cloudy	SAN FRANCISCO
GENEVA	14 57	9 57	Cloudy	SINGAPORE
HARARE	27 77	18 61	Cloudy	STOCKHOLM
HELSINKI	17 63	5 41	Cloudy	SYDNEY
HONG KONG	29 84	20 61	Cloudy	TEL AVIV
HONOLULU	23 73	13 58	Foggy	TOKYO
ISTANBUL	23 73	13 58	Foggy	TUINIS
JERUSALEM	23 73	13 58	Foggy	VIENNA
LIMA	24 75	17 61	Foggy	WAISAW
LISBON	27 75	14 57	Foggy	WASHINGTON
LONDON	17 63	6 47	Cloudy	ZURICH

Readings from the previous 24 hours.

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INTERNATIONAL FUNDS

May 24, 1982

The net asset value quotations shown below are supplied by the Funds listed with the exception of some funds whose quotes are based on issued prices. The following symbols are used: (a) — available for direct subscription; (b) — available for daily (a) — weekly (b) — monthly (c) — monthly (d) — monthly.

Investments

— (a) Julius Baer & Co. Ltd.

— (a) Comer.

— (a) Dreyfus.

— (a) Stocker.

BANK VON ERNST & Cie AG PB 2422 Bern

— (a) CSF Fund.

— (a) IFF Fund N.

BRITANNIA PO Box 271, St. Heller, Jersey

— (a) Unicredit Fund.

— (a) Unicredit Fund.

CAPITAL INTERNATIONAL

— (a) Capital Int'l Fund.

— (a) Convertible Control S.A.

CREDIT SUISSE

— (a) Actions Subs.

— (a) C.P.C. Fund.

— (a) C.I. Fonds Int'l.

— (a) Usic.

— (a) Unicredit Fund.

— (a) Pacific Value Fund.

— (a) Fiduciary World Po.

DIT INVESTMENT FUND

— (a) DIT Fund.

FIDELITY FUND

— (a) Fidelity Fund.

FIDELITY FUND, Bernardo

— (a) American Values Com.

— (a) American Values Com.

— (a) Fidelity All-World Fund.

— (a) Fidelity Fund.

SPORTS

76ers Beat Celtics, 120-106, Will Meet Lakers in Finals

By Sam Goldsiper

New York Times Service

BOSTON — The Philadelphia 76ers dethroned the defending champion Boston Celtics Sunday with a 120-106 victory and advanced to the National Basketball Association finals against the Los Angeles Lakers.

The 76ers, getting 34 points from Andrew Toney, and 29 from Julius Erving, captured the Eastern Conference championship, four games to three. They prevented the Celtics from doing this year what they did last, come back from a 3-1 deficit to win.

Beginning Thursday at the Spectrum in Philadelphia, the 76ers will

play the Lakers in the four-of-five game final series.

Before Sunday's game, they were reminded that for the second year in

NBA PLAYOFFS

a row they had held a 3-1 lead against the Celtics in the conference championship series only to have Boston come back and tie.

Last season the Celtics won the seventh game, then beat the Houston Rockets in the finals to capture the league title.

The 76ers had been subjected to continuous references that implied that they were "chokers," and that

did not sit well with Coach Billy Cunningham.

Normally, after each game, Cunningham has been willing to talk at length with reporters. But Sunday, apparently angered by pointed suggestions that his team was choking, he spent less than 30 seconds with the interviewers.

"I've just got two things to say," Cunningham said. "First, I'd like to thank the Celtic fans for how they responded at the end of the game. It made us feel good."

His reference went to the chants of "Beat L.A., Beat L.A."

Then, Cunningham added: "Second, I'm ecstatic for the 12 guys in there. They stuck together when everybody else had us buried." He then left the room.

Before the game, Cunningham said that he thought his team needed most was a big game from Erving, who averaged 24.4 points during the regular season but had not been shooting well in the playoffs and was averaging only 17.4 points a game.

All that ended Sunday in the second half when the 76ers needed him the most. Of his 29 points, 20 came in the second half, 10 in each quarter. In addition, he had five assists and three crucial steals.

A sked if the 76ers needed a big game from him to win, Erving said with a smile: "I don't know if they needed me to score as much as we needed some sort of contribution from everybody and we got it. We played aggressively for 48 minutes, there were no letups."

With the exception of a brief period at the start of the game, and another time early in the second quarter when the Celtics led, 32-31, the 76ers led all the way. The 76ers built leads of up to 8 points in the first half, but each time the Celtics came back.

Seven straight points, 6 by Toney in the opening period, gave the 76ers a 21-14 edge, but by the end of the quarter, Boston had cut the margin to 30-28. When Philadelphia moved to a 50-42 advantage with 3:17 remaining in the half, the Celtics closed the gap and trailed, 52-49, at the half.

And when the 76ers led reached 54-49 early in the third period, the Celtics again rallied, scoring 8 straight points.

Rogers (6-3) went 7/8 innings, and Reardon limited Cincinnati to 10 hits Sunday to give the Montreal Expos a 4-2 victory and a sweep of the Celts came back.

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76ers' Darryl Dawkins slam-dunks the ball while Mike Bantom screens off Celtics' Larry Bird.

Hartack Goes to Whip

By Dave Anderson

New York Times Service

BALTIMORE — In the jockeys' room at Pimlico recently, an apprentice walked up to the little man in the cream sports jacket.

"Mr. Hartack," the apprentice said, "I just want to shake your hand."

Bill Hartack smiled quickly and chatted with the apprentice, then walked over to get a cup of coffee.

His face turned serious again. As a jockey with 4,272 winners before riding in Hong Kong for six years, Hartack was always serious. And now, at 49, he's serious about becoming a steward in California.

"Being a steward was always in the back of my mind," he was saying. "I think racing needs a few updated rules and regulations."

Now a patrol judge at Hollywood Park and Del Mar who reports to the stewards there, Hartack talked eagerly about his ambition to be a steward, one of the three wise men at every track who are responsible for maintaining thoroughbred law and order. He intends to take the California stewards' examination this year.

"Too many horses are breaking down," he said. "There's got to be something wrong. I see it all the time. They go a quarter of a mile out of the gate and the riders flat pull 'em up."

He was quick to add: "I'm not knocking the game. Our racing in the United States is on the up and up a lot more than it is in other countries around the world. But that doesn't mean I'm completely happy with it. I want it to be the way it's supposed to be."

To him, some trainers don't treat horses the way they should, especially in the cheaper races. "It doesn't happen in stakes races," he said, "because the good horses are taken care of." But in the cheaper races, according to him, some trainers rely more on hope than on faith.

"Those trainers," he said, "hope the horse will be claimed or hope the horse runs a good race."

Hartack also questioned veterinarians who permit a horse to run instead of making it a late scratch. "I maintain that a lot of vets are not doing their job," he said. "How can they be doing their job if their horses keep breaking down? That's just common sense. And like I say, there are a lot of trainers who aren't doing their job."

"Back when I was riding, I used to duck some of those trainers, but you can't duck all of 'em. And all I could do then was not ride a horse if I didn't think the horse was right."

More than most jockeys, Hartack often refused to ride a horse as late as just before entering the starting gate. "I always scratched horses that I felt were lame. To run them wasn't fair to me, to the horse or to the better....

"The horse is completely at your mercy," he continued. "He can't talk to you except through his body, but when you hear his body talking, you should have the human decency to consider it. And if you insist on riding him, you're dealing with the horse's life as well as with your own."

He also had a warning for bettors.

"Any time you see a horse run for \$60,000 and then see him run for \$30,000 the next time, or run for \$25,000 and then for \$10,000 the next time, watch out. No trainer in his right mind is going to risk a \$25,000 horse in a \$10,000 race."

"But any time a horse like that is put in a cheaper race, he's going to draw a lot of money in the betting. If he's sound, fine. But if he's not, it's not right."

Bettenhausen Leads Fast Field for Indy 500

The Associated Press

INDIANAPOLIS, Indiana —

The fastest Indianapolis 500 lineup in history was completed Sunday as Gary Bettenhausen and three other drivers pinned down starting spots with qualifying runs over 194 mph (310 kph).

Bettenhausen was the last of the four, and the fastest, to make it onto the grid for next Sunday's race, completing a four-lap qualification run at an average speed of 195.673 mph and bumping rookie Chip Mead from the lineup.

Bettenhausen completed the fourth brother combination in the race, joining his younger brother Tony. Other siblings in the race include the Mears brothers, Rick and Roger; the Senna brothers, Tom and Jerry, and the Whitting-

ton brothers, Don, Bill and Dale, who form the first family trio to qualify for the same Indy race.

The other qualifiers Sunday were Tom Bigelow at 194.780 mph, Pete Halmir at 194.595, and Mexico's Josè Garza at 194.500.

The field averaged an amazing 197.740 mph. 6.5 mph faster than last year's 33-car average of 191.244, and 5.2 mph faster than the former record 192.584 set in 1978.

Records Tumble

The first weekend of time trials got the fast field off and sizzling, with Rick Mears establishing one- and four-lap Indianapolis Motor Speedway qualification records and the pole-position winner

Penske teammate Kevin Cogan, who went out just ahead of Mears, already has smashed Tom Sneva's 1978 marks of 203.620 and 202.156 during his four-lap dash averaging 204.082. And that gave the two Penske PC-10 racers the top two spots on the grid.

A.J. Foyt, the only four-time Indy winner, put a March-Cosworth on the outside of the front row at 203.352, qualifying for a record 25th Indy race and a record seventh front-row start.

Other former winners in the race include pole-winner Mears, three-time winners Mario Andretti and Al Unser, and Jimi Andretti and Gordon Johncock.

The first weekend of time trials was marred by the death of driver Gordon Smiley in a devastating crash during a warmup lap for his first qualifying attempt.

Nine rookies made the final field, including Roger Mears, the slowest qualifier at 194.154. Mears' speed was nearly 8 mph faster than the slowest car in last year's field.

Garza, the 1981 Indy Rookie of the Year, has struggled here this

year, crashing his No. 1 car during practice a week ago, and finally qualifying his backup March-Cosworth Sunday on the last of three allowable qualifying tries.

The qualifying effort came as a relief to Garza and team manager Bobby Unser, a three-time winner and the 1981 Indy 500 champion. Unser decided Friday to pass up an opportunity to drive in his 20th Indy 500 in order to concentrate on getting Garza into the race.

"Last year was very easy," Garza explained. "I think this year has been better. I learned a lot from Bobby. My driving has changed this month. And I think my whole personality has changed."

Unser, the pole-position winner

of the 1981 race, has struggled here this year, crashing his No. 1 car during practice a week ago, and finally qualifying his backup March-Cosworth Sunday on the last of three allowable qualifying tries.

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